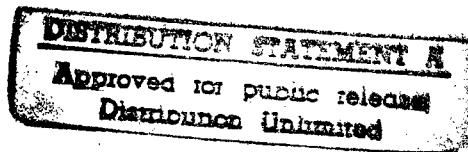


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6 September 1985



# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 8, May 1985

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CONTENTS

M. S. Gorbachev Speech at Commemoration of 40th Anniversary of Great Patriotic War 8 May 1985 .....	1
CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers Address "To The Peoples, Parliaments and Governments of All Countries" On the 40th Anniversary of the End of World War II .....	20
M. S. Gorbachev Speech at Meeting of Leningrad Party Organization Aktiv 17 May 1985 .....	25
TOWARD THE 27th PARTY CONGRESS	
"...This Will Be Appreciated by the People" (V. Kadulin) .....	39
Production Intensification Calls for Intensified Environmental Protection (L. Yermin) .....	55
ARDENT FIGHTERS FOR COMMUNISM	
Associate of the Great Lenin (P. Rodionov) .....	67

**FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF SOCIALIST COOPERATION**

**Reliable Shield of Peace**  
**(V. Kulikov) .....** 79

**Forty Years of Freedom, Forty Years of Struggle for a New Life**  
**(Vasil Biliak) .....** 91

**Facts and Lessons of History**  
**(Kurt Heger) .....** 100

**REALITIES OF THE PRESENT AGE**

**Nationwide Peace Movement**  
**(O. Kharkhardin) .....** 111

**The Fate of the Iranian Revolution**  
**(R. Ulyanovskiy) .....** 123

**FROM THE EDITORIAL MAIL**

**It Cannot Be Justified, Notes of a Sociologist**  
**(R. Lirmyan) .....** 132

**CRITICISM AND BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**Enhancing the Level of Auditing Work**  
**(V. Mantsev, P. Neshcheretniy) .....** 143

**Man and Land**  
**(A. Kashtanov) .....** 149

**Short Book Reviews .....** 152

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M. S. GORBACHEV SPEECH AT COMMEMORATION OF 40th ANNIVERSARY OF GREAT PATRIOTIC  
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[Speech by M. S. Gorbachev, at the solemn meeting in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War, delivered on 8 May 1985, "The Immortal Exploit of the Soviet People"]

[Text] Dear comrades, friends, esteemed guests:

For our people the 4 years of war were long and severe, and the road to victory was hard. Then came that bright day in May when Soviet soldiers and Soviet people could say: the just cause has triumphed! The enemy is routed! Victory is ours! (sustained applause).

The Soviet people and its valiant armed forces dealt fascist Germany a crushing defeat, upheld the freedom and independence of the motherland, brought liberation to the peoples of Europe. The rout of fascism, the victorious ending of the war became a turning point of world historic importance opening before mankind, saved from peril, new roads of social progress, the perspective of a just and lasting peace on earth. Our victory has not receded into the past (applause). It is a living victory directed into the present and the future.

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet government warmly congratulate the heroic Soviet people upon the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory. Congratulations, dear countrymen! (sustained applause).

On this day the motherland pays tribute to the courage, valor and heroism of her sons and daughters, each of whom, arms in hand, fulfilled his patriotic duty to the end and did everything to bring about the spring of victory.

Congratulations, dear heroes who fought on the front, partisans and resistance fighters. Glory to your feat of arms in the name of the motherland, in the name of life on earth (applause).

Carry further with dignity and honor the lofty title of participant in the Great Patriotic War, which is dear to all Soviet people! (applause).

Today the country celebrates the labor, valor and unprecedented staunchness of our home front, all those who forged arms, smelted metal, grew grain, who brought closer the hour of victory in production shops and mines, on the railways, in the fields and farms, in research laboratories and design bureaus.

Congratulations on the anniversary, dear comrades! Glory and fame to all whose life and work in the years of the war were subordinated to one sacred duty: "Everything for the front, everything for victory!" (applause).

The Soviet people's respect for and appreciation of the veterans of war and labor is boundless. Comrades, the country owes its victory to you and will never forget what you accomplished then, in the period from 1941 to 1945, on the fields of battle and by working with unheard-of intensity (applause).

Your glorious accomplishments are a model on which all the new generations of Soviet people are educated. They learn from you courage, valour and staunchness, boundless loyalty to communist ideals, readiness to overcome everything, to endure everything when the motherland calls for this (applause).

Great are the sacrifices of our people made in the name of victory. The war claimed 20 million lives of Soviet people. Almost every family lost one of its members, was seared by the war. The pain of loss, the sorrow for the fallen will never pass. However, without their heroic life given to the motherland there would be no victory.

Memory of the immortal exploits of those who were the first to rise to the attack, who blocked embrasures with their bodies, crashed their planes into enemy planes, who with grenades flung themselves under the treads of tanks, who in sailors' pea jackets engaged the enemy in hand-to-hand combat, who sank enemy ships, derailed trains, courageously fought on the invisible front, who stood to the last on the field of battle, who were not broken either by torture or by fascist dungeons and camps will remain forever in the eternal flames, in the impressive memorials and modest obelisks, in works of literature and art, in the hearts of contemporaries and our offspring (applause).

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in battles for the freedom and independence of the Soviet motherland!

Let us honor them with a minute of silence (all stand up. One minute of silence is observed).

Comrades, many countries and peoples came out in a united front against the aggression of German fascism and Japanese militarism. Soviet people remember and highly appreciate the contribution made by all the participants in World War II to the rout of the common enemy and pay tribute to their feats of arms in the struggle for freedom, peace and justice.

Let me extend heartfelt greetings to the foreign guests who have come to Moscow to celebrate together with the Soviet people the 40th anniversary of the great historic event which is close to the heart of all upright people in the world (applause).

I

Comrades, the past war has gone down in the history of our homeland as the Great Patriotic War. Soviet people understood well that the fate of the socialist homeland was being decided in mortal battle: Were our peoples to be free or were they to become enslaved, were they to have their national statehood, language and culture, or were they to lose all this and vanish into historical nonexistence? The mortal danger hanging over the homeland and the tremendous force of patriotism elevated the entire country to fight a people's war, a holy war. Soviet people drew strength in the great Leninist ideas. They were inspired by the heroic pages of our history, of the people's struggle against foreign enslavers. They rose to the defense of their fatherland.

By its class essence our war with fascist Germany was socialism's biggest armed clash with the shock forces of imperialism. The young Soviet state, at that time it was less than 25 years old, was engaged in tremendous social transformations. The new social system was revealing its creative possibilities to an ever fuller extent. We needed peace and only peace. The party and the Soviet government were doing everything to prevent war. Our foreign policy and diplomacy were subordinated to this.

In conditions of the mounting war danger the country was preparing to give the enemy a proper repulse in the event of attack. The party was educating Soviet people in a spirit of vigilance, hatred for fascism and readiness to defend the socialist state. It showed tireless concern for providing the army with reliable arms and modern combat equipment. The country's defenses were being strengthened on the basis of the powerful industry that was created during the first five-year plan periods.

Much was done in that period preceding the storm, for various reasons we were unable, did not have the time, to fully accomplish everything that was necessary.

The beginning of the war was grim. We were attacked by a cruel and perfidious enemy. It had already tried out its war machine and used the economy of the European countries it occupied to work for it. Its overall military-economic potential was twice that of the Soviet Union. The advantage of surprise attack was on the enemy's side. Some miscalculations by our side also made themselves felt.

It was with fierce battles that the Red Army retreated deep into the country. Nothing could be more bitter than this retreat to Moscow and Leningrad, the Volga and the Caucasus. Hitler's invasion was bringing our people unheard-of suffering, pain and privations. There were critical situations for us in the course of the war. However, from the very first days the war brought forth the mighty strength of moral spirit born by the entire way of life of the

socialist society, by the profound understanding that the fate of the country was in the hands of each person. In the most difficult of times the people did not lose faith in victory, faith in the party and in the triumph of our just cause. The entire world was amazed by and saluted the staunchness of the Soviet soldier, the courage of a great people.

The blitzkrieg drawn up by the German command was already scuttled in 1941 by the heroic resistance that the enemy encountered on Soviet soil. The world remembers the unbending courage of the Brest Fortress, Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad, Kiev and Minsk, Odessa and Sevastopol, Novorossiysk and Kerch, Tula, Smolensk and Murmansk. However, cities become heroes only when their defenders become heroes, and war convincingly proved this. The defenders of Sevastopol alone destroyed as many enemy soldiers and officers as Hitler's army had lost in all the theaters of war prior to the attack on the USSR. In the course of fierce battles our army was wearing down the enemy, accumulating experience and strength and learning to win.

The country withstood and turned the tide of events. Soviet soldiers routed the fascist hordes at Moscow, Stalingrad, Leningrad and in the Caucasus, dealt the enemy crushing blows in the Kursk bulge, the right-bank Ukraine and in Belorussia, in the Jassy-Kishinev, Vistula-Oder and Berlin operations.

What determined the victorious outcome of these battles, each of which is unrivaled in history? What helped us win the war that had such a difficult beginning?

The roots of the victory are in the nature of socialism, the Soviet way of life, in the nationwide nature of the Great Patriotic War. As the greatest of trials, the war confirmed most vividly and clearly that it is precisely the popular masses who are the decisive force of history. Displaying mass heroism in battles and labor, Soviet people of different nationalities upheld and defended their socialist motherland. They were rallied and inspired by the great Russian people whose courage, perseverance and unconquerable spirit were an inspiring example of unbending will for victory (sustained applause).

Millions took part in the war, but they were not a faceless mass in this battle of unprecedented scale. The high personal qualities of the fighting men of the Great Patriotic War--from Private Aleksandr Matrosov to Marshal Georgiy Konstantinovich Zhukov--were strikingly manifest in their heroism (applause).

The combat banners of our armed forces are covered with unfading glory. Born of the October Revolution, the Red Army was an army of the people. The Soviet soldier was distinguished by boundless loyalty to the homeland, courage and combat skill. In the ruthless battle he displayed his highest moral qualities. The huge losses suffered by us in the war, the acts of brutality perpetrated by the enemy did not blind his consciousness with a yearning for revenge. On entering Germany as a victor, the Soviet soldier did not transfer his hatred of fascism to the German people. Fighting was still raging but Soviet soldiers were already helping the German people in restoring a peaceful life.

The talent of our military leaders and commanders manifested itself extensively in the grand battles that knew no precedent. Having emerged from the midst of the people, having been educated by the party, they showed themselves worthy inheritors to and continuers of the best traditions of our country's military art. The superiority of Soviet military science and leadership was demonstrated in the clash with a strong and experienced adversary--strategic foresight, the creative nature of the adopted decisions, persistence and energy in the pursuit of set aims. The ability to fuse together the high combat spirit of soldiers and officers and the crushing might of the latest weaponry. The whole country knows the names of the outstanding military leaders and commanders of the Great Patriotic War. The war veterans, our armed forces and all Soviet people are proud of them (applause).

The nationwide nature of the war found its vivid expression in the creation of a 2-million-strong people's volunteer corps, in the struggle of the resistance fighters on territory temporarily occupied by the enemy, in the great scope of the partisan movement. Behind the front line, behind the enemy's line, there was yet another front, the partisan front. More than a million people's avengers took part in battles. The land burned under the feet of the aggressor and more than one division of the aggressors was destroyed in this righteous flame.

"War tests all the economic and organizational forces of a nation," noted Vladimir Ilich Lenin ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, p 321). The Soviet economy withstood this most difficult trial with honor. The socialist organization of industry and agriculture convincingly demonstrated its advantages.

In the most difficult situation, within a period of time that seems fantastic even today, we managed to evacuate deep into the country more than 1,500 big enterprises, considerable material resources and assets. Already a year after the enemy's attack the eastern areas of the Soviet Union accounted for more than three-quarters of the entire military output. The advantages of the socialist economy manifested themselves most vividly in its high efficiency. While producing only a third or a fourth as much of the steel and coal as Germany and the countries occupied by it, we produced almost twice as much military equipment.

The efficiency of the USSR's war economy was ensured by the immutable authority of the state plan, discipline and strict responsibility for the entrusted task, by the initiative, inventiveness, daring thought and selfless labor of workers, collective farmers, engineers, designers and scientists, by the organizing abilities of captains of industry.

During the time of great danger our country truly became a single military camp. The Soviet working class displayed unparalleled heroism and staunchness. At the most difficult moments workers' battalions joined the ranks of the fighting army and work in production shops was not interrupted even when the enemy already stood virtually at the factory walls and shells and bombs were exploding nearby. By its high consciousness and organization

the working class once again confirmed its role as the leading force of Soviet society and did everything that was needed for victory (applause).

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the socialist system of agriculture, and the collective-farm system withstood the test of strength during the war. Although the main grain-growing areas of the country were seized by the enemy, despite the shortage of manpower and machinery, the workers in agriculture ensured the supply of the front and the rear with food and of industry with raw materials. The collective farmers, workers of state farms and machine and tractor stations did everything possible for the rout of the enemy and worthily fulfilled their patriotic duty to the motherland (applause).

The Soviet intelligentsia shared the people's determination to win. The talent and work of our scientists, designers and engineers created such types of planes and tanks, guns and mortars and other types of weapons which by their characteristics were superior to the enemy's weaponry. These truly were mighty arms of victory (applause).

Razor-sharp journalism and striking imagery of prose, patriotic songs, films, plays, poetry and posters inspired people and led them into fierce battle with the enemy.

The people will always remember the feat of the Komsomol members, of all young people of the fiery 1940s, whose youth coincided with the war. A generation born after the October Revolution, formed by the socialist system, a generation that absorbed its revolutionary, collectivist morality and psychology from childhood went into battle against the enemy and it did not flinch. It boldly went to the firing line, overcame all trials of the difficult war years and demonstrated that it is impossible to defeat a country capable of rearing and educating such a young generation (applause).

It was thus at the front, and it was thus in the rear as well. Youths toiled hard at factories and plants, in the fields of collective and state farms. It is customary to say that they worked tirelessly. Of course, they tired, but they knew that the embattled motherland badly needed their work. Today millions of our countrymen especially treasure memories of their wartime youth, their wartime childhood (applause).

It is with deep gratitude that we speak of the heroism of Soviet women. Indeed, war does not have a female face. Despite danger, women went into attacks as equals of men, courageously fought with the hated enemy, carried wounded soldiers from battlefields and nursed them back to health in medical battalion centers and hospitals. Millions of soldiers owe their lives to the courage and charity of women (applause).

The people will never forget their glorious exploits on the labor front as well. Soviet women experienced all the hardships of wartime life, all the pain of loss, displayed tremendous will and preserved the warmth of undying love. Words cannot express our admiration for the patriotic Soviet women, and the depth of our gratitude for all that they accomplished for the sake of victory (sustained applause).

When planning the aggression against our country the fascists intended to set the peoples of the Soviet Union at loggerheads, to fan national strife. Reality overturned these plans. Mankind does not know another example when war would rally so closely together all nations and peoples of a country for struggle against the aggressor. The wisdom and farsightedness of the Leninist nationalities policy manifested itself with full force in the fraternal unity of peoples. The great socialist union remained strong and invincible (sustained applause).

The gigantic work at the front and in the rear was guided by the party, its Central Committee, the State Defense Committee headed by the General Secretary of the UKP Central Committee Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin (sustained applause).

Party committees became veritable combat headquarters, political organizers of the masses. Party organizations functioned everywhere--in soldiers' trenches, partisan detachments and in the underground. By their passionate word and personal example political officers inspired the fighting men. PRAVDA wrote on 22 March 1942: The figure of the political officer, submachine gun in his hands, wearing a camouflage cape and a helmet, marching in front and drawing the men after him to the attainment of the lofty and noble aim, the rout of the German fascists and the liberation of the homeland, will go down in the history of the Great Patriotic War as a glorious and honorable figure (applause).

Communists went to the most dangerous, the most responsible sectors of the struggle. During those years four out of every five communists were either in the army or at defense plants. Members of the Central Committee, the best party cadres were sent there. Three million communists fell fighting the fascist invaders. More than 5 million people joined the party during those heroic years.

The Leninist party became a fighting party that merged into a single whole with the fighting people. In the most difficult wartime period of our history it proved a match to its tremendous responsibility for the destiny of the motherland and brought the country to victory. The moral and political prestige of our party was consolidated during the war years, the prestige of being a communist rose still higher in the eyes of the people. We, members of the Leninist party, will always treasure and take pride in this (applause).

It was not only our weapons, economy and political system that triumphed in the war. It was a victory of the ideas in the name of which the revolution had been made and Soviet people had fought and died. It was a victory of our ideology and morality, which are imbued with the lofty principles of humanism and justice over the man-hating ideology of fascism.

The Soviet army accomplished with honor its great mission of liberation. It came to the enslaved Europe as a liberator and was fighting to put an end to war and Nazism so that the peoples of Europe should have a lasting and dependable peace (applause).

Marking victory day, we pay tribute to the military valor of the soldiers of the allied armies, those of the United States, Britain and France. We will never forget the staunchness and valor of the people of Yugoslavia and their People's Liberation Army. We highly honor the selfless struggle of the occupied but unsubdued Poland. The Polish and Czechoslovak armies were fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with our troops on Soviet soil and subsequently in the liberation of their countries.

Guerrillas, patriotic underground fighters and, in the closing stage of the war, the armies of Bulgaria and Romania and Hungarian troops made their contribution to the rout of Hitlerism. The Albanian and Greek people were fighting perseveringly against the invaders. We remember the uphill struggle waged courageously against the Hitler regime by the German communists and all the antifascists.

The Soviet people highly regard the bravery of the resistance fighters. The communist parties of France, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands and other West European countries were in the front ranks of the resistance movement. They raised and rallied the peoples in struggle against Nazi tyranny for their freedom and national independence. Many communists laid down their lives on the altar of victory over the enemy. The French Communist Party became known in history as the party of the executed.

Our country, loyal until the end to its commitments of an ally in World War II, made a great contribution to the defeat of militarist Japan. We acted in close combat unity with the great Chinese people. Troops of the Mongolian People's Republic were side-by-side with us, energetically fighting the common enemy. The patriots of Vietnam, Korea and other Asian countries were perseveringly struggling against the Japanese invaders.

Looking back at the events of that time and recalling the joint battle of the peoples against the common enemy, we point out with pride that the outcome of World War II was decided on the Soviet-German front. It was on that front that the fascist aggressor sustained more than 70 percent of its total losses.

The feat of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War is immense and unforgettable. The wartime years witnessed immeasurably much--the pain of losses and the happiness of victory, the courage of fierce fighting and the inconspicuous greatness of day-to-day work.

Our victory raised high the international prestige of the Soviet Union. It inspired an upsurge of patriotic sentiments among the Soviet people. Victory was and will remain for us a source of inspiration, from which we will always draw energy to translate into life immense plans of construction and to strengthen the might and ensure the further prosperity of our homeland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (sustained applause).

Victory in the Great Patriotic War is a holiday that will be with us forever (applause).

Comrades, the most important and valuable of everything victory gave us is the possibility to live and work under conditions of peace. The test of war showed that our social system is unconquerable and that its vital resources are inexhaustible.

Peacetime is making its own rigorous demands and puts to an exacting test the ability of society to ensure constant economic growth, continuously to improve social relations and to better the working and living conditions for people.

Summing up the results of the past 40 years, we have every reason to say that in peaceful development, too, socialism has convincingly demonstrated its immense potentialities and superiority (applause).

People of the older generation remember what a horrible picture of devastation the areas liberated from the invaders presented: ravaged soil, ashes in place of homes, darkened blast furnaces and dead mines. Almost 1,700 cities and communities and 70,000 villages had been reduced to rubble. About 25 million people were homeless. Incapacitated industrial plants and farms numbered tens of thousands. The flames of war had engulfed almost one-third of the country's national wealth created by the work of the people. There is nothing that can ever measure the most horrible and irreplaceable loss--the lives of millions of Soviet people.

The enemies of socialism were nurturing the hope that the devastation and ruin caused to our country would doom it to backwardness and dependence on the West, but they were again mistaken. The dedicated selfless toil of industrial workers, collective farmers and intellectuals raised from ruin the ravaged cities, villages and plants. It took the USSR a mere 3 years to restore the prewar level of production in industry and 5 years in agriculture.

There was another feat of construction, carried out by the Soviet people in the difficult postwar years. It demonstrated with utmost clarity what the people inspired by the lofty goals of building socialism could accomplish. Since that time our country has made immense progress in every field of economic, sociopolitical, cultural and spiritual development (sustained applause).

Soviet society today is a society with a highly developed economy. The country's national income has grown more than 16-fold over the prewar level, and industrial output has increased 24-fold. Our industry has been growing twice as fast as that of the developed capitalist countries. Today the USSR produces more cast iron and steel, oil and gas, cement and mineral fertilizer, machine tools, tractors, grain harvesters and many other products than any other country in the world.

Great changes have also taken place in the structure and scientific and technical standards of production. New industries, among them the nuclear, space, electronic and microbiological industries, have been created. Large production complexes have emerged or are being formed in the center, in the Urals, in Siberia, in the Far East, in Central Asia, in the Transcaucasus--in

short, in all the regions. A ramified network of power transmission lines and oil and gas pipelines now span the country. Canals stretch for thousands of kilometers, the once arid steppes have been transformed and marshland has become fertile. The economic map of the homeland changed beyond recognition during those decades.

The main productive force of society, its potential of construction, has tangibly changed. The USSR now has skilled and well-educated manpower. The occupational standards, general cultural level and special knowledge of workers and kolkhoz members have grown considerably. We have a large army of engineers and scientists. In the postwar period Soviet science and technological thought have achieved more than one impressive success in major areas of world science and technology. The Soviet Union built the first atomic power station and the first atomic-powered icebreaker and launched the first satellite. A Soviet citizen, Yuriy Gagarin, was the first man to see the earth while in a space orbit.

Soviet society today is a society of the constantly growing well-being of the population. Rapid economic growth has made it possible without slackening attention to the further buildup of the potential of the national economy to initiate a move toward meeting to an ever fuller extent the needs of the working people and to make impressive progress in that field as well. The real per capita incomes have increased by a factor of more than 6 as compared with the prewar period. Housing is being built on a large scale. The network of hospitals and outpatient clinics, creches, kindergartens and communal services has expanded at a tremendous scale.

Soviet society today is a society of high educational and cultural standards of the people, their rich cultural and intellectual life. While before the war only five out of every 100 people doing predominantly manual work had higher or secondary education, today their number has reached 82. Our contemporary is a person with broad cultural and political horizons and sophisticated intellectual needs.

Soviet society today is a society in which major social problems have been resolved. The entire system of social relations has been raised to a new level of maturity and the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intellectuals have grown stronger. We have made further progress in overcoming substantial distinctions between living standards in towns and in the countryside and between work by hand and work by brain. The flourishing of the nations and nationalities is being harmoniously combined with their comprehensive drawing closer together. A sense of belonging to the single family of the Soviet people as a new social community of nations and nationalities without precedent in history has become firmly rooted in the mind and heart of everyone (applause).

Soviet society today is a society of true and real democracy, of respect for the dignity and rights of citizens, and of their high sense of responsibility. The participation of the working people in the affairs of their country and their collective is becoming ever broader and more energetic and the system of the socialist self-government of the people is being improved.

Forty years after the Great Victory, the Soviet Union is a strong and prospering power confidently paving the way into a communist future (sustained applause).

Our successes are obvious, but it is the dialectic of development that the achieved targets broaden historical horizons and pose the people with more complex and responsible tasks. Such tasks are confronting us today. They can be summed up as the need to achieve a qualitatively new condition of society, including its economy, the system of sociopolitical relations and institutions and the entire totality of the working and living conditions of millions of Soviet people.

The CPSU Central Committee April Plenum was devoted to the solution of today's urgent problems. The party considers the main tasks of the present to substantially accelerate the socioeconomic progress of Soviet society. That task has been prompted by practice as a whole, both by domestic conditions and by the international situation. What it amounts to primarily is the intensive and dynamic growth of the national economy, which relies entirely on the latest achievements of science and technology. It is the basis that will make it possible to ensure the further growth of the people's well-being, to strengthen the economic and defense potentials of the country and comprehensively to perfect developed socialism.

The main yardstick of economic development today is the achievement of high end results with the best use of resources. The existing economic situation must be appreciated from this point of view. We must meet under a tight schedule, within a historically short period of time, the foremost targets of productive work, quality of output and efficiency of production as a whole. This is the imperative command of the times.

The principal way to achieve this goal is scientific and technical progress. The rate of our development and the course of economic competition with capitalism will depend to a decisive extent on how we resolve the problem of accelerating scientific and technical progress and on how efficiently and how timely we apply the achievements of science and technology in the national economy.

In short, the tasks arising before Soviet society at the new historical stage are on an immensely large scale, but we have every possibility to effectively accomplish them and will by all means reach our goal (applause).

We are confident that the superiority of the socialist system will effectively serve Soviet society in new historical circumstances as well. However, to this end it is necessary to take urgent measures that are new in many ways in order to bring the forms and methods of socialist economic activity, economic and social management, into accord with the present-day conditions and long-term development needs.

Our strategy for improving management incorporates Lenin's idea that "socialism must achieve this advance in its own way, by its own methods--or, to put it more concretely, by Soviet methods" (op. cit., vol 36, p 178). It is necessary to remake the economic mechanism into forms and structures that

would stimulate to the maximum possible degree higher efficiency of production and improvements in quality and tune it up to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

The guarantee of all our achievements is the everyday work of the people. The working people's keen interest in the fate of their socialist homeland and their activity in production and political affairs has always been a powerful catalyst of the progress of society and has made it possible to effectively overcome every difficulty and obstacle. Today it is important to create the broadest possible room for the public initiative of the masses and to orient it to the solution of the basic problems of accelerating the socioeconomic development.

Nothing encourages the activity of the working man more than his confidence in the unswerving observance or the principle of social justice. The party will be doing everything possible for this. To raise a strong barrier to deviations from socialist principles and to negative phenomena of every sort, and to close every source of unearned income with a simultaneous rise in the role of material and moral incentive to conscientious efficient work means to resolve major socioeconomic, political, ideological and educational problems, to foster the profound interest of millions of working people in the accomplishment of the plan targets and to raise even higher their conscientiousness and organization (sustained applause).

Advancing toward the regular 27th CPSU Congress, the party Central Committee is taking measures to ensure that the party's political course meets to the fullest possible extent the needs of social development and the interests and aspirations of the broadest strata of the working people. To this end it is constantly perfecting its activity and forms of party and state leadership.

Today it is exceptionally important for us to be able to work, as Lenin taught, "by virtue of authority, energy, greater experience, greater versatility and great talent" (op. cit., vol 7, p 14). Let there be fewer words, assurances and promises and more real deeds, practical results, responsibility, principledness, harmony in work, care for the people and personal modesty. This is the main yardstick for evaluating all the cadres, their ideological standards and competence. This is the essence of the demands made by the party on the style and methods of work (tempestuous applause).

Efforts to accelerate socioeconomic development, ensure firm order everywhere and tighten organization and discipline are enthusiastically approved and fully supported by the Soviet people (sustained applause). The CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo and the Soviet government highly value the people's trust in the policy of the party and will make every effort to justify that trust (sustained applause).

The entire policy of the party is based on its profound belief in the creative energy and abilities of the Soviet people. The people who defeated the enemy in face-to-face battle, stood their ground in the difficult years of the postwar rebirth and achieved outstanding successes in the development of their

socialist homeland will also be victorious in new historical circumstances and adequately respond to any challenge of the times (sustained applause).

The party sees full well the tasks facing the country and ways to accomplish them successfully and is mobilizing the Soviet people to ensure a new powerful upsurge in the economy so as further to raise the well-being of the people. This is a befitting continuation of the cause for which the Soviet people were selflessly struggling during the grim wartime years and during the peaceful years of building socialism (applause).

### III

Comrades, turning our minds and hearts back to the victorious spring of 1945 today, we naturally ask ourselves if the hopes of millions of people who were fighting to ensure that we and our children and grandchildren would live in peace and happiness have been realized.

They have indeed! However, a good deal is yet to be done to preserve for us, who are living today, and for the succeeding generations, the common home of mankind and to ultimately exclude war forever from human life.

Forty years is not a short time by any measure. Time is inexorable: Those who were born after the victory have reached maturity and their children have grown up. World War II for most people is an event not associated with their personal experience. However, the war left such a legacy that its results and lessons continue to influence the entire course and character of world development as well as human thinking.

World War II began to germinate long before the first battles broke out in the fields of Europe and in the expanses of the ocean. Its sinister shadow fell over mankind when some politicians proved unable, and others did not wish, to interfere with the assertion of Hitlerism in power. Today we know more and better than was known at that time who helped the fascist ruling clique, and how, to build up arms arsenals, to unfold a potential of aggression and to make preparations for armed ventures.

It was the ultimate in political irresponsibility when the leading groupings of monopoly capital tried to manipulate the expansion of German fascism, directing it to the East. The Munich collusion will forever remain in the book of shame covering the names of those who were prodding Hitler so insistently into attacking the Soviet Union. One has to be affected by massive political sclerosis not to remember these facts.

It is not essential today who of the bourgeois politicians and statesmen of the 1930s were sincerely in error and who were guided by selfish class self-interests. History will not change its indictment: The Munich policy of the Western powers, their connivance in Hitler's aggression eventually brought a terrible tragedy to all the peoples of Europe. The line of those who, despite the Soviet Union's persistent calls, refused to form a united front in order to stop the Nazi adventurists, was a criminal one. Time will never absolve them of their responsibility for the catastrophe that could have been averted had not the then Western leaders been blinded by their hatred for socialism.

Unfortunately, history repeats itself. Today, more than ever before, it is necessary to be vigilant with regard to the machinations of those who are pushing the world toward a precipice, this time a nuclear one. It must be clearly and fully realized as to where the menace to mankind comes from in our days. The Soviet Union is saying this as forcefully as it did before the war, thus warning against an imminent danger. We have to talk about this also because the vicious myth about a "Soviet military menace," which was used so shriekingly by Nazism, is in currency today, too.

However hard falsifiers of history might try to rewrite history, the peoples of the world know that it was the Soviet Union who was the first to sound the alarm and to warn about the impending danger of fascism. It was the communists who suggested a clearcut program of struggle against the brown plague when it was still in embryo. Finally, it was the Soviet Union that came up with a series of proposals aimed at curbing the arrogant aggressor. But at that time, too, all this was declared "communist propaganda."

It took the occupation of almost the whole of Western Europe, the capture of Paris, the bombings of London, the attack of Pearl Harbor for the cynical calculations to crumble and the groundless hopes to collapse. It took the brilliant victories of the Red Army for the accords on cooperation with the Soviet state in the struggle against fascism to begin acquiring tangible material force.

The spread of the fascist danger made the Western politicians see the world as it really was. All the experience of the anti-Hitlerite coalition indisputably shows that socially opposite states can pool their efforts in the struggle agianst a common enemy, find mutually acceptable solutions and work effectively to achieve a common aim.

The Soviet people have not forgotten about the material assistance the allies gave our country. True, this assistance was not so great as they in the West like to say, but we remain grateful for this assistance and regard it as a symbol of joint actions. The opening, though belated, of the second front in Europe, was an important contribution to the common struggle.

The favorable atmosphere of cooperation among the member countries of the coalition, a realistic understanding of the new situation of the world following the rout of fascism were also reflected in the postwar settlement, in the decisions of the allied conferences in Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam. These decisions as well as the UN Charter and other international agreements of those years were permeated with a spirit of cooperation. They made possible such a settlement of complicated questions of the postwar arrangemnt, including territorial ones, as met the interests of a long-awaited peace.

It seems especially apt to recall all this today when all the peoples of the world have one common enemy, the threat of nuclear war, and one overriding problem, that of removing this threat.

Twice this century the imperialist forces unleashed bloody world wars in the hope of solving their own class tasks in this way, strengthening their own

positions and ensuring the attainment of their own selfish interests. But history ruled different. It is small wonder, I emphasize, that both of these wars that began as adventures of imperialism--impudent and convinced of its impunity and that international law is written with the fist of the aggressor--not only ended with the rout of those who initiated them, but every time opened a whole period of crisis and upheavals of the very system that breeds war.

While upholding the freedom and independence of their homeland, the Soviet people were also fulfilling a great international task, that of saving world civilization from fascism. As a result of the latter's defeat, the positions of the progressive, democratic forces grew stronger, which led up to the victory of a new social system in a number of countries of Europe and Asia. The first workers' and peasants' state was also founded on German soil. In the course of the people's struggle against Nazism and Japanese imperialism, the struggle that merged with the striving of the masses for deep social changes, the force of attraction of the ideas of socialism markedly increased, and the communist parties in many countries grew stronger and became powerful forces.

In the postwar years, a world system of socialism was established and progressed a long way and a community of socialist states emerged. The new social system that has firmly established itself has proved its viability. It awakened the creative forces of the millions and made it possible for them to make, within short periods of time, accomplishments of a historical scale. Socialism today emerges as a powerful world system exerting a tremendous influence on mankind and its future and an invincible factor of peace and a guarantor of the security of the peoples (sustained applause).

The states of the great community possess priceless experience and a well-adjusted mechanism for concerting their policies. They come out in a united front on international issues and consistently uphold the cause of peace and disarmament and the principles of peaceful coexistence. A special role is played here by the Warsaw Pact organization, its Political Consultative Committee and the Joint Armed Forces of the allied states. Until the threat to peace and security is removed, the Warsaw Treaty member countries will continue to do everything necessary to safeguard themselves against any encroachments (sustained applause). Proof of this is the prolongation of the treaty for a new term, unanimously approved by all its members (applause).

Intense changes in the postwar world are also due to the downfall of colonialism. Tens of independent states have emerged in the place of former colonies and semicolonies. True, their development has not been even and it has had, and continues to have, its ups and downs, achievements and tragedies. True, the developing countries must still tackle far from simple problems, both those inherited from the past and those created by the policy of neocolonialism.

But it is also true that the system of colonialism has been almost completely eradicated now. Many young nation-states are playing an increasingly noticeable progressive role in world politics. With the active support of the socialist countries they persistently struggle for a new, more just, world

economic order. The Nonaligned Movement has become an important factor in present-day world affairs.

As we see, comrades, the political map of the world has radically changed over the past 40 years since the victory.

The sphere of imperialist domination has markedly narrowed. Its possibilities for maneuvering and for dictating with impunity its will to sovereign states and peoples have lessened considerably. The alignment of forces inside the capitalist world has changed, too. The defeat in World War II of such a shark as German imperialism, the defeat of militaristic Japan, the weakening of the once powerful British and French competitors had put American imperialism in the position of the leader of the capitalist world by all major indices: economic, financial and military. What seemed to promote the claims of the U.S. ruling class to world hegemony was also the fact that it actually found itself to be the only large nation that had become fabulously rich as a result of the war.

Imperialist reaction, which found the social and international-political results of the war unsuitable to its interests, tried, already during the early postwar years, to take a kind of historical revenge and to roll back the positions of socialism and other democratic forces. This strategy was spearheaded against the Soviet Union while the economic strength and the temporary U.S. monopoly of atomic weapons were used as its levers. Atomic weapons were regarded by the ruling U.S. quarters as a means of military and political pressure on us and other countries of socialism, a means of intimidating all peoples.

That is why it would be wrong, when speaking of the results of the postwar decades, to see only those we sincerely welcome and support. Unfortunately, many things are happening today that give rise to growing concern. Needless to say, the present world is absolutely unlike the world of the 1930s, but far from all in the West have given up attempts to talk to the Soviet Union in a language of threats.

The cold war started by the belligerent circles of the West was nothing but an attempt to replay the results of World War II, to deprive the Soviet people and the world forces of progress and democracy of the fruits of victory. Properly speaking, these aims were not concealed. They found their expression in the ideology and policy of rolling back socialism, massive retaliation, brinkmanship, etc. As a result, international confidence was undermined and possibilities for constructive cooperation of states, started within the framework of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, were considerably narrowed.

American imperialism is at the forward edge of the war menace to mankind. U.S. policy is growing more bellicose in character and has become a constant negative factor in international relations, a factor we cannot ignore. The aggressive strivings of the ruling elite of that country are seen in the attempts to undermine the military-strategic balance, this basis of international security, in accelerating the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, in the dangerous plans for the militarization of space. Barbarous doctrines and concepts for using nuclear weapons are being developed and

hundreds of military bases and installations established on all continents. A policy of state terrorism is being pursued against Nicaragua and an undeclared war waged in Afghanistan.

The United States is trying to impose on the world community its claims to some exclusiveness and some special mission in history. This alone can explain its imperial claims to zones of vital interests, to the right to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, to encourage or punish sovereign countries and peoples at Washington's whim. Even its own political and legal obligations are canceled out.

The increased danger of West German revanchism, the reanimation of which the present U.S. leadership is so actively involved, should also be mentioned. The leaders of the seven principal capitalist states, while meeting recently in Bonn and marking in their own way the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II, raised their hand even against the territorial-political realities in Europe that emerged as a result of the rout of Hitler Germany and postwar development. There were politicians there ready to forget or even justify the SS cutthroats and, moreover, pay honor to them, which is an insult to the very memory of mankind of the millions of people shot, burned or gassed.

Being aware of the scale of the war danger and of our own responsibility for the destiny of peace, we will not allow the military-strategic balance between the USSR and the United States, the Warsaw Treaty organization and NATO, to be broken. We will continue to follow this policy because we have learned well, once and for all, what the past has taught us (sustained applause).

In short the situation remains complicated, even dangerous, but we believe that there are quite realistic opportunities for curbing the forces of militarism. There is a growing conviction in the people's minds that a world without wars and weapons is practically attainable. The conviction is that such a world can be built already in our time and that for the sake of such a world it is necessary to work and fight actively now, today!

This conviction is supported by the experience of the policy of peaceful coexistence, the attainment of practical results in the sphere of cooperation between states of the two systems. There are many such examples. They impel ever broader masses to come out against aggression and violence in international relations. There is a growing understanding that peace will be strong only provided that peaceful constructive coexistence, equality and mutually beneficial cooperation of states, irrespective of their social system, become supreme, universal laws of international relations. There is no doubt that the antiwar movement will continue to grow, thus effectively rendering the adventuristic actions of the forces of aggression more difficult (applause).

The only reasonable way out today is establishment of active cooperation of all states in the interests of a peaceful future, and the creation, use, and development of such international mechanisms and institutions as would make it possible to find optimum ways to combine national, state interests with those of all humanity.

We call for sincere cooperation of most diverse social and political forces, cooperation based on goodwill in the name of peace. This is not a simple task. It cannot be solved in one single try and requires a sufficiently high degree of confidence in relations between countries. The course of events can be changed sharply if tangible success is achieved at the Soviet-U.S. talks on space and nuclear arms. Such is our conviction.

Here the experience of the 1970s is really priceless in our opinion. Good political, legal and moral-psychological foundations were laid at that time for the cooperation of states of the two systems under new historical conditions, specifically on such sensitive issues as the security of the sides. However, the results could have been more considerable had the West displayed a responsible attitude toward the successes of detente.

We firmly believe that the process of detente should be revived. This does not mean, however, a simple return to what was achieved in the 1970s. It is necessary to strive for something much greater. From our point of view, detente is not the end goal of politics. It is needed but only as a transitional stage from a world cluttered with arms, to a reliable and all-embracing international security system (applause).

The Soviet Union is prepared to follow this path. To search for any opportunities to remove the danger of nuclear war should become the supreme duty of governments and responsible statesmen (applause). Today, on the day of the anniversary memorable to all of us, I should like to repeat once more: The Soviet Union resolutely supports a world without wars, a world without weapons (applause). We state again and again that the outcome of the historical competition between the two systems cannot be determined by military means.

Our commitment to the policy of peaceful coexistence is evidence of the strength of the new social system, of its faith in its historical possibilities. This policy meets the interests of all countries and peoples, is permeated with a spirit of genuine humanism, ideals of peace and freedom which inspired Soviet people also during the years of the past war.

It is the duty of the living to the millions of those who gave their lives for the freedom and social progress, our common duty to the present and succeeding generations to uphold man's sacred right to life and to ensure a lasting peace (applause).

Dear comrades, the main figure in the war, the architect of the victory was the great Soviet people clothed in a soldier's greatcoat or worker's overalls, the people led by the party of Bolsheviks.

Celebrating victory day, we bow our heads to the memory of the fine, courageous sons and daughters of our homeland who gave their lives for the sacred cause of defense of their fatherland.

Celebrating victory day, we glorify the war and labor veterans, glorify the Soviet man, the soldier and worker, our heroic working class, the collective farm peasantry and people's intelligentsia.

Celebrating victory day, we glorify all nations and nationalities of our homeland united within an indestructible fraternal family--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Celebrating victory day, we glorify the Soviet soldier, our gallant armed forces.

Celebrating victory day, we glorify the Leninist Communist Party, the party of the victorious people.

May the Soviet people's feat in the Great Patriotic War live through the centuries! (tempestuous sustained applause. All stand up).

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CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDIUM AND USSR COUNCIL OF  
MINISTERS ADDRESS "TO THE PEOPLES, PARLIAMENTS AND GOVERNMENTS OF ALL  
COUNTRIES" ON THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF WORLD WAR II

PM101037 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 85 (signed to press 23 May 85)  
pp 19-22

[Text] Four decades ago the battle of the freedom-loving peoples against  
facisem, which had set out to win world domination, ended victoriously.

The victory of worldwide historical importance over Hitlerite fascism and  
Japanese militarism was won by the common efforts of the peoples and armies of  
the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, partisans, resistance fighters,  
anitfascists, democrats, patriots and millions of freedom fighters.

It is commonly recognized that the Soviet Union and its armed forces made the  
decisive contribution to the rout of the forces of fasicsm and aggression and  
to the saving of mankind from enslavement.

Hitler's fascism posed a threat to the very existence of European and world  
civilization. World War II took a toll of 50 million human lives. The war  
imposed on the Soviet Union took away the lives of 20 million of its sons and  
daughters. There was not a family that escaped the flames of war unsinged.  
Our pain and grief will never subside and the anguish of soldiers' widows,  
mothers and orphans is unquenchable. The aggressor destroyed one-third of our  
national wealth.

The tragedy of the war and the happiness of great victory will remain forever  
in the memory of the people. The grim and instructive lessons of the war  
cannot be forgotten.

One of the main lessons is that aggression must be fought against jointly and  
decisively before the flames of war burst out.

That was what the Soviet Union was perseveringly seeking on the eve of World  
War II.

The means of warfare have now been qualitatively changed. While the wars fought so far in human history claimed hundreds of millions of lives, a third world war poses the threat of universal annihilation. If the world is swept by a nuclear hurricane, not even oases of life will be left behind.

Faced with the mortal fascist threat during World War II, states with different sociopolitical systems joined forces against the common enemy and proved the possibility of effective political and military cooperation for the sake of the common human goal of freedom and peace. Today, too, the cohesion of peoples can become a formidable obstacle in the way of those who are pushing the world towards nuclear catastrophe. The forces of peace and progress today are incomparably stronger than the forces of reaction and aggression.

After the end of the war, the Soviet Union spared no effort to avert another catastrophe, to achieve disarmament, and to ensure that contentious problems are settled peacefully at the negotiating table. The peoples of Europe have been living in peace since the spring of 1945. The principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is asserting itself even more forcefully in international affairs and in relations among states.

On 1 August 1975, the states that participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe signed the Final Act in Helsinki in which they mapped out ways to "overcome confrontation stemming from the character of their relations in the past and to better mutual understanding." The foundations of detente were laid by the joint efforts of states and it demonstrated its indubitable advantages and benefits for everyone.

The peoples are marking the 40th anniversary of victory in the aggravated, dangerous situation, which has been brought about by the U.S. and NATO course of tipping the military-strategic equilibrium and seeking military superiority over the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty member states. The hopes to dominate the world and dictate to others, including the Soviet Union, are futile and dangerous to all the peoples.

The situation in Europe, which was swept by the whirlwind of two devastating world wars, causes great worry. Huge masses of armed forces and arms arsenals are directly confronting each other here; U.S. first-strike nuclear missiles continue to be deployed in Western Europe, and the revanchist forces, trying to call into question the results of the war and postwar development, primarily the postwar European political and territorial realities, have become more active.

Certain forces in Europe and outside it have not given up their dangerous plans to subvert the historical Yalta and Potsdam agreements, which laid the foundations of postwar peace. Those agreements have been dependably serving the interests of European security and blocking militarist and revanchist ambitions for 40 years now. Any attempt to encroach upon those agreements is doomed.

The earth is a common home for all the peoples, for mankind as a whole. The Soviet people do not need land belonging to others. We do not impose our

world outlook and way of life on anyone. It is in vain that the trumpeters of the "crusade" and "psychological warfare" are trying to mislead the international public with myths about the "Soviet military threat." History and today's real facts show differently. The Soviet Union has never attacked anyone, but has had more than once to repulse invasions of aggressors. The Soviet people need peaceful conditions for creative work and for the further perfecting of society of developed socialism. Our ideal and constant concern is universal and complete disarmament and a lasting and just peace.

The safeguarding of peace was and remains the supreme goal of the communist party and the Soviet state. The foreign policy of peace bequeathed to us by Lenin is formalized in the USSR Constitution. It stems from the very nature of socialist society.

It is our conviction that war is not fatally inevitable. There can be no goals that could justify the unleashing of nuclear war. There are no international disputes that could not be settled at the negotiating table. Detente and businesslike cooperation can and must be a natural and constant condition of international affairs. Reason must prevail over recklessness and madness.

The Soviet Union urges the peoples and states and their parliaments and governments to do everything possible to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on earth, and to limit, reduce and eventually eliminate completely nuclear weapons.

It is unthinkable to reach agreement on the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments under conditions of space militarization. Space militarization would become a catalyst of the uncontrollable arms race in every field and lead to another, even more dangerous round of that race and to the dramatic decline of strategic stability.

It is sensible to have certain norms to regulate relations between powers possessing nuclear weapons. They should, we believe, provide for the prevention of nuclear war, renunciation of propaganda of nuclear war and the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, to prevent their proliferation and to work for the reduction of nuclear armaments to the point of their complete elimination. The Soviet Union is prepared to reach accord with other nuclear powers at any time jointly to recognize such norms and make them binding.

On the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory over fascism, the Soviet Union reiterates its obligation, assumed unilaterally, not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and again urges the other nuclear powers, which have not yet done so, to assume similar obligations.

The document "Basic Provisions of a Treaty on the Mutual Nonuse of Military Force and the Maintenance of Relations of Peace," submitted by the Soviet side to the participants in the Stockholm conference, meets the interests of lessening tension. That initiative is aimed at achieving the main goal of the conference. The pivotal provision of the proposed treaty could be the obligation not to be the first to use against each other either nuclear or

conventional weapons and, therefore, not to use armed forces against each other at all.

We call upon the governments of European states, United States and Canada to take effective steps completely to rid the European continent of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons. Europe must be freed from chemical weapons as well. Stronger peace and security here could be promoted by the establishment of nuclear weapon-free zones in the Balkans, in Nordic Europe and in other parts of the continent and by a freeze on or cuts in military spending.

The Soviet Union calls upon the states participating in the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe and in the Vienna talks on mutual reductions of the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe to take measures without delay to achieve mutually acceptable accords.

Our country stands for settling by peaceful means the situation in the Middle East, in Central America, in Southeast Asia and in other regions, and for removing seats of tension and conflicts among states without intervention in their internal affairs. Together with the other peoples, the Soviet people are resolutely demanding independence for Namibia and the abolition of racism in South Africa.

We will be working together with the other interested states for the reconstructuring of international economic relations on a fair democratic basis and for the renunciation of exploitation in every form and the use of trade and economic contacts as a means of political pressure. The USSR will continue to consistently support all those who are struggling against social and national oppression, racial discrimination and genocide and for genuine democracy and equality and real human rights and freedoms without distinction on the grounds of race, sex, language or faith.

It serves our common interests energetically to contribute to the further enhancement of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations as an international instrument of peace and the security of the peoples, and to the implementation of the lofty goal announced in the UN Charter, that of "saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and "living together in peace with one another as good neighbors." We welcome the UN appeal to the peoples and states to mark the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism. These celebrations will be a tribute to the memory of millions who died in World War II.

It is the sacred duty of those who fought in the war agianst fascism and those who were born after it to defend man's right to life.

In view of the lofty mission of all the states and their parliaments and governments to safeguard universal peace and aware of responsibility for the destinies of peace and mankind, the Soviet Union addresses all the peoples, parliaments and governments with an appeal to heed the voice of reason and to stop by energetic joint actions the slide into the abyss of nuclear catastrophe, to bar the way of another war and to work for the complete

elimination of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union is prepared to consider any initiative and any proposal made for the benefit of peace.

May the 40th anniversary of the great victory give a fresh strong impetus to the common efforts of peoples and states for a healthier international situation and stronger peace. Mankind can and must have confidence in its future as it lives through the end of the 20th century and enters the 21st century.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Council of Ministers of the USSR.

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M. S. GORBACHEV SPEECH AT MEETING OF LENINGRAD PARTY ORGANIZATION AKTIV 17 MAY 1985

LD220200 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 85 (signed to press 23 May 85)  
pp 23-34

[Speech by M. S. Gorbachev at the meeting of the Leningrad Party Organization Aktiv in the Smolnyy Assembly Hall on 17 May 1985, "To Advance Persistently"]

[Text] Dear Comrades, allow me, first of all, to greet warmly and sincerely the participants of today's meeting on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee (sustained applause).

The days that I have spent in Leningrad have coincided with a major and important event in the life of our people, in the life of our country and our party--the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. I would also like to make use of this meeting to congratulate all of you, and through you, all Leningraders on the occasion of this great event in the life of our people (applause).

When I speak about this, I have in mind primarily the vast contribution which was made by Leningraders to the victory over fascist Germany, in which they displayed unprecedented heroism, ardent devotion to the Soviet homeland, steadfastness and selflessness in the struggle for our ideals (applause). I also have in mind the vast contribution which the Leningraders made to the postwar construction over the past 40 peaceful years.

The Central Committee and the Soviet government, our entire party and people rate highly the Leningraders' military and labor organization, and the working people of the oblast and city to strengthen the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Leningrad party organization, Leningrad's working class, all the working people of the city and the oblast are the vanguard of the Soviet people and have been a reliable bulwark of our Leninist Central Committee at all the sharp turns of history in the past and in the implementation of the historic tasks of the present stage of the development of our society, which is also not a simple one (applause).

This is my first business trip since new duties were placed upon me by decision of the Central Committee. Of course, it is no coincidence that the

first one is in your city. The reason for this is precisely, as I said before, the political, social, economic and cultural role of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast in the life of our socialist, multinational state (applause).

Over the past few days I have had many important meetings and conversations with Leningraders; conversations with workers, scientists and specialists, heads of enterprises, organizations and establishments, meetings at plants, building sites, in scientific laboratories and educational establishments. All of these meetings show that communists, Komsomol members and all the working people of Leningrad are working persistently to implement the plans of our party, and that with their labor they are making a weighty contribution to the strengthening of the economic and defense potential of our homeland.

At one time questions of further economic and social development of the Leningrad region were, at the request of the party oblast committee, reviewed by the appropriate state scientific and economic organizations, the USSR Council of Ministers and the party Central Committee, and received approval and support.

During my present visit to Leningrad and my acquaintance--albeit short--with the activity of the party organization and the labor collectives in the implementation of the plans that have been outlined, I noted for myself with great satisfaction that this work is already proceeding intensively and on a large scale. On behalf of the Central Committee I would like to congratulate the oblast's and the city's party-economic aktiv in connection with this approach to the solution of this extremely important state task.

Clearly, it is quite just to say once again that you, although your work is in full swing, are still at the start of this important path. But at the same time, I was greatly impressed by the fact that party and economic officials, scientists, engineering and technical personnel are now vitally concerned with the problems of accelerating scientific-technical progress and the development of the economy and its transfer onto a new track, the track of intensification. It is particularly important that these problems are being brought into the foreground of labor collectives of enterprises, economic organizations and scientific establishments.

A significant feature of the new stage which the city's industry is undergoing is that the young people are actively reaching out to scientific and technical progress. I had a conversation in the flexible production systems section of the Kirovskiy Zavod Association with a young worker who had transferred from another section to that section, where they are introducing a system of robots, and processing centers with digital programming. He lost in wages but, nonetheless he had come there in order, right from the very start of this stage, to be a participant in opening up this scientific-technical virgin land, as one might call it. This is a very interesting fact in itself.

Over the whole 3 days, and even today, when we visited the Elektrosila Association to acquaint ourselves with the automatic design system and the introduction of this system into production, design and planning, the people who told us the same thing were mainly young engineers. Alongside them were venerable scientists and their "patriarch" Academician I. A. Glebov.

This alliance of youth, this spring growth of scientific and engineering workers who are now entering the economy alongside our noted scientists is the alliance which will ensure the solution of the great task which the party organization has undertaken.

It seems that all of us will have to reattune--I would say from worker to minister, to secretary of the party Central Committee, to leaders of the government. All must master the new approaches, to understand that there is no other way for us. I would like to say more about that later.

The meetings and conversations which I have had in Leningrad have been useful for me. From the example of the city and the oblast I have been able to check out once again the concepts which the Central Committee and the Soviet government are laying at the foundation of our long-term economic strategy. I found many convincing arguments in favor of the correctness of our approach. There turned out to be many people here who thought in the same way and, most importantly, not only among the leaders and not only during organized meetings, but also during the conversations, of which there are many, during impromptu meetings.

We hope that the experience of the Leningraders, who are in the lead in the solution of the new problems of our economy, will be of great interest and will be a sort of school for industrial enterprises, building sites, engineering and design institutes and party and economic cadres, since the scale of this work is now expanding in all sectors and regions of the country.

On the one hand, this is to the credit of the people of Leningrad, but on the other hand, be prepared to receive guests (applause).

The strength of our society, the strength of socialism, lies in the fact that this experience, these achievements, especially those achievements in the initial stage, at which major questions begin to be resolved, can be utilized by others; they are our socialist way of life, our socialist economic system, which contains such vast potential, including exchange of experience, which is a powerful accelerator for our forward progress.

We hope that the people of Leningrad will pay due attention to passing on all the best that has been accumulated in this work, and help us to more speedily implement the most difficult stage, the stage of the psychological restructuring of our cadres for new approaches in the spirit of the new requirements, based on new equipment, new technology, and scientific and technical progress.

I must say that my numerous meetings and conversations in Leningrad over the past few days are of immense political significance for the Central Committee. Here I can refer to the many statements, wishes and pieces of advice voiced by Leningrad people in the past few days to the Central Committee and the government. I regard this as a mandate--the political mandate of the people of Leningrad. It will suffice to mention a few of these brief, weighty utterances. When we met at a meeting on Vostaniye Square, one working man there, when I asked: "What would you like to wish the Central Committee?"

said: "That it persistently continue what it has begun!" (tempestuous applause).

When we came out of the Elektrosila Association workshop today a small group of working people gathered to see us off. I asked that same question again. This time, too, I received another serious reply. A worker said: "It's important to ensure that words are matched by deeds." Comrades, that is the veritable truth! (tempestuous applause).

We can, we are convinced, formulate the correctly the basic directions of domestic and foreign policy. We have at our disposal immense political experience, stored up by the party and our society over its difficult course of progress, begun here in the Smolny in Leningrad in 1917 by the most educated people in the world, people who in their patriotism have no equal. We have powerful science, and a powerful body of scientific and technical and creative intelligentsia. In other words, we can, and I am sure that we will arrive at the congress with a well-prepared and considered program for the country's socioeconomic development and will present it for discussion and approval. But first it must be discussed in the party organizations and working people's collectives.

We will go to the congress with a thoroughly elaborated a well-considered, integrated, mobilizing policy--a policy in the interests of the people, a peace-loving policy, an energetic policy, which should lend dynamism to our society.

But, comrades, today it is already clear that the linchpin of this policy will be the need to accelerate our progress, speed up work, more intelligent work, more responsible, disciplined work. More order will be required, more scientific inquiry, more major and important decisions. It will require immense mobilization of creative forces, and the ability to conduct matters in the country in a new way, not only in the economy, but also in the social sphere, in culture, ideology, in all spheres.

We have real opportunities. But, as they say, between opportunity and reality lie a vast distance, and it is this distance which we must cover as fast as possible, thanks to our ability to close ranks, and be convinced of the accuracy of our plans.

You remember that before the war the elder generation was resolving the problem of having to cover in decades what other countries had covered in centuries, so that the country should not find itself in a critical situation; and even then it was sensed that the threat to the socialist country above all was growing. Not all of this was accomplished, but most of it was. This was the basis of the victory in 1945.

We also have to traverse a long road now and also in a short space of time.

Leading party organizations with great experience and opportunities, like the Leningrad, Moscow, Donetsk, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk and other party organizations--I simply do not want to list them all now--must head this campaign. I think that Leningrad has embarked on this work earlier and better

than all others. They are carrying it out realistically and not just in a declaratory manner. I wish you success in this work. We shall support you (applause).

Why, in fact, do we need an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development? Why isn't a quiet life acceptable? After all, in a way we could live a slightly more tranquil life. We have already had almost 70 years of exertion since the October Revolution. We could relax a bit.

No, comrades. At the present time, history, if nothing else, is not giving us an opportunity to do this. I do not know whether it will in the future or whether we want to base our policy and our practical work on such an approach with its banking on relaxation. That is hardly the right thing to do.

There are specific data relating to this. Of late, the rate of increase in national income has been about 3 percent, more or less. Calculations, however, show that we need a minimum of 4 percent. If we do not achieve 4 percent--and we actually need even more--what do we do? Do we cut the rate of increase in living standards? Do we curtail programs for raising material well-being? We cannot do this.

I think that the concept which we have drawn up within the party Central Committee and the government, and which I am bringing to your notice today, in a compressed form is the right one. We must proceed on the basis of it. There is no alternative. Since there is no alternative, any banking on quiet life will not be possible. Our party aktiv must be ready to accept this (applause).

The party aktiv is the section of our party which has always, at all stages, taken upon itself the most difficult role in the mobilization of the masses, in the search for ways to resolve those tasks which life itself has set us at various times in history.

I had the opportunity to mix with many comrades from the party aktiv of the Leningrad party organization, and deep impressions have remained with me from this contact and also confidence that what is entrusted to Leningrad will be done. Leningrad people will set an example of statesmanlike understanding of their tasks at the present stage of our development (applause).

However, not everything is in order here with the pace at which you are fulfilling your plans. It is that the plans we are giving you are too low (excitement in the hall). To my mind, the plans are, for all that, intensive. However, while the city and Leningrad Oblast will fulfill the five-year plan, yes precisely the five-year plan and not the sum of the annual plans, it must be said that dissatisfaction with the speed of progress of our entire economy also applies fully to Leningrad. I could add to this, that in terms of labor productivity Leningrad has not got much to boast about today. We cannot get by without a growth in labor productivity, without an annual growth of labor productivity of 6, 7 or better still, 10 percent. In many decisive sectors we must have a multiple increase in labor productivity. We will not secure a breakthrough to the highest world standards unless precisely this approach exists.

Therefore, it is right that Leningrad people made a brave assessment of everything that is going on and turned sharply and became an example to the other parts of the country.

In this connection, comrades, I fully approve the "Intensification-90" program once again. Above all, because it will guarantee the necessary growth of labor productivity. Incidentally, this is in the exhibit on the intensification program. It has been said before the whole world by the people of Leningrad, now you've got nowhere to hide yourselves! There is no other way.

It is clear to everyone, and we are already convinced now that the sole means capable of raising labor productivity is scientific-technical progress. However, for it to run through the whole of our economy one must at first modernize our machine building on a completely different basis, and through machine building and through the implementation of scientific achievements in machinery and equipment, to extend new technology throughout the economy and to update the production apparatus of the entire national economy.

It is time that is needed. Not 1 or 2 years. What will the situation be during the period we are enhancing machine building and opening the way to scientific achievements? It is necessary to move all spheres forward, and that includes strengthening defense and guaranteeing growth in material well-being. Therefore, at the first stage of the struggle for our economy's more rapid development, we can and must squeeze more out of the economy by imposing more order and increasing labor, technological and state discipline.

This is not the first time that we are raising this question. We have already spoken a lot about this, but is it worthwhile to talk of discipline every day? Not just every day, we must talk about it every hour. The main thing is, however, to act so that discipline will be strengthened.

I want to refer again to the April Central Committee meeting with managers of labor collectives, specialists and scientists. During the visit of the party Central Committee's brigade at the Minsk Motor Vehicles Plant, labor productivity rose by 18 percent. We are setting such tasks for the entire five-year plan. Look at the reserves that lie concealed in our country! Other representatives who spoke on that occasion, from Kazakhstan, for instance, said: Yes, we have been convinced on more than one occasion when we have begun to work actively in shops with the people we see and eliminate our own shortcomings. Because much lies concealed not in the workers' lack of discipline or insufficient responsibility but in the lack of organization of production and lack of rhythm in it. This breaks the labor cycle and even the worker is disturbed from his routine. When all of this is taken into account by foremen, heads of shops and the main command structure, productivity rises by 10, 12, 15 percent, by a minimum of 8 percent.

For this reason, while unleashing scientific-technological progress at accelerated rates, we must, as a first stage, obtain everything we can from better organization, a level of responsibility, and on the basis of our working peoples' conscientious attitude for the matter in hand. Here we need

work by the party and trade union organizations and the Komsomol. Here we need a whole system of measures that will include a set of educational, organizational and economic measures and, naturally, measures providing material incentive.

The participants in the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum unanimously supported the Central Committee Politburo conclusion that we can truly obtain a rapid return if we put all organizational, economic and social reserves into operation while in so doing activating first and foremost the human factor, attaining a situation where each person works at his workplace honestly and conscientiously and effectively (applause).

Comrades, much is done in Leningrad, as it is a major center of highly skilled machine building, power plant engineering, shipbuilding, radio engineering, instrument making and other industrial sectors. Within the city are concentrated 300 scientific, design, and technological and engineering organizations. Every 10th worker of this category in the country works in Leningrad.

The indices of the vessels, many power engineering installations, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, chemical and petrochemical complexes being built in the country depend upon the level of the institutes and design bureaus' developments. Being cognizant of this, party organizations and cadres are doing much to be equal to this responsibility.

Much that is interesting and has become the property of the whole country was born here. The country is well-acquainted with those practical undertakings conceived in the city's labor collectives. In the 1960s Leningrad communists were at the roots of the creation of production associations; the planning of social and then of the socioeconomic development of labor collectives began in the city of the 1970s, now being done on the national level. The movement begun by collectives of leading associations for raising the technical level and reducing the time taken to create and master new technology by a factor of 1.5 to 2, experience in training and education, reinforcement of the working class and so on and so forth. This is all invaluable experience for our party.

What is it that I would like to draw attention to? As we progress to and reach new limits and new systems of machinery, new technical standards of equipment, instruments and so on, so the requirement for the quality and reliability of all these products immeasurably increases. Some collectives resolve this task with success, with good and great success, and others with less success. Here it would seem right to criticize the following parent institutes--the Boiler Turbine Institute imeni Polzunov and the Elektromash Scientific Research Institute of the Elektroapparat Production Association--on the grounds that as far as reliability of work, material intensiveness and degree of automation are concerned, many items are below the best standards.

General speaking, the following task should be set. All products made in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast should be competitive on the international market. Only that is acceptable. But how can we direct the whole country

towards that end if Leningrad does not take up and does not set such a task? (applause).

The Leningrad Elektromekhanicheskiy Zavod Production Association is performing its role as the country's leading organization for the development of digital-programmed systems without the required urgency, one may even say in a passive manner. Your digital systems do not always suit the customer.

We would be correct by setting the following task: each plant and association must be familiar with the best indicators of their output, reached in other industrially advanced countries, and draw the required practical conclusions.

I should refer to other examples as well so we may realistically assess the processes, and the situation in all other spheres. A realistic assessment of the situation will enable realistic, effective measures to be worked out.

The idling time of power turbines due to failure of equipment at power stations leads to huge losses to the national economy every year. Not everything here depends on the people of Leningrad, not everything; but a lot does, because you provide a lot to this sector.

Today, industry expects the machine-tool industry to supply not individual--albeit fine--machine tools, but rather production complexes which should provide a manifold increase in labor productivity, and a principally new, flexible organization of machine-building production. In connection with this, Leningraders face such a task--that of producing such complexes. Such work has already gotten under way on a broad front. It should be supported in every way and hoped that its scale will be extended.

Accelerated scientific and technical progress and economic intensification demand improvements in capital construction. As you know, several decrees on basic problems related to the development of this sector were passed recently. It is a question of improving capital construction planning, organization and management, perfecting cost estimates and organizing the wage and labor-intensive system in construction. Another important document is being drafted on the further development of industrialization and upgrading labor productivity in construction.

At this point, it is very important to organize the implementation of these decrees. I hope that Leningraders will set the example here as well.

There is another question which I would like to say something about. It is about economizing material resources. You and I, comrades, must start, basically considering productivity on the basis of national revenue. The national revenue is greater with a lower input not only of direct labor but of indirect labor, too. That was how Marx and Lenin put this question.

A great restructuring of minds of economic managers lies ahead in this respect. Here thoughts are not of the national wealth, not of the nature of the goods, but of ways of making them look more expensive, to boost their value on paper as much as possible, so as to shuttle the same item back and forth within the association to push up the gross figures. As a result the

overall cash figures grow, but the goods, the wares, and the equipment are in short supply. What we need, however, is real equipment and specific consumer goods.

We now have supreme "specialists" in resolving the problem of production rates by means of new prices, by raising the average price of an item, taking more money by means of the addition of some index, or simply by shuttling the same item, the same merchandise to and fro internally, within the same enterprise, thus increasing the pace of the association.

We are now spending, comrades, significantly more raw material, energy and other resources per unit of national income compared to many other countries. We are awash with resources in view of the vast natural wealth we have, but it has seduced us. Now, however, 80 percent of our resources are in the East and in Siberia, and to reach them we must build towns, build roads, do everything from scratch. This costs huge sums. In some 10 years, expenditure per metric ton of additional petroleum has increased by more than 70 percent--70 percent in 10 years!

In other words, resources are becoming ever less accessible and more expensive, and this makes our whole economy more expensive. That is why the problem of resource use and conservation is rather urgent and topical.

Here again everything must be resolved on the basis of technology--energy-saving, resource-saving technology.

Here is a simple example. In the Central Committee Politburo recently we were considering the question of the reconstruction of thermal power stations. Per kilowatt-hour produced at obsolete facilities, 400, 500, in some places 600 grams of fuel are expended; at frontranking facilities 240 grams; and on average across the country, 326 grams are used. If all thermal power stations could now be made to reduce fuel expenditure to the average, in one year savings of 20 to 22 million tons of petroleum would be obtained; and in a five-year plan, about 100 million tons. That is one action we could take. A conversion to diesel in motor vehicle construction would mean a saving of millions of tons' worth of petroleum, and so on and so forth.

In agriculture, the land may be plowed to great depth, or it may be tilled by blade cultivator to attain the same results while also sparing the soil. In the latter case fuel expenditures are 35 percent lower. Last year, as soon as we started using 21-meter-wide swathe reapers, expenditure per hectare of fuel dropped from 3.2 to 1.7 kilograms.

So the issue is: we squander countless resources in each sector, but nobody is going broke. It only seems that way. In a family you do feel this, when it comes out of your own pocket, but out of the state's pocket, nobody feels it.

We must arrange things so that it is felt. We must encourage people to save resources, and here this is not being done properly either. This is a problem which must be tackled thoroughly, and again it concerns Leningrad, as

Leningrad opens the way to new equipment, through which we may arrive at resource-saving technologies.

This is a problem affecting all spheres, and it should not be thought that it concerns only industry or agriculture. We know about major losses in construction. How much produce rots in agriculture for want of a storage and processing base?

Here is a simple question, which confronts us every day when we turn on the tap to shave and wash. According to the Research Institute for Municipal Water Supply and Purification, about 21 percent of the country's drinking water goes straight into the sewers, unused. Yet, today some countries are already importing drinking water from other countries in order to satisfy the population's requirement for fresh water. Every year the country as a whole uses electricity equivalent to the output of the Dneproges just to supply water which is not used rationally. By saving water we could save 2.5 billion rubles during a 5-year period.

I want to say a few words about increasing production of consumer goods and developing the services sector. These questions are of immense social and political significance. In this matter, comrades, it is important to realize that we are going through a kind of new stage. In this stage it is not just quantity that is of primary importance but the problem of quality and range and, generally speaking, all those things which we call goods with high consumer qualities. Unless we resolve the problem of quality, we will not resolve the problem of supplying the population with goods. That is the first point.

Secondly, we need to overcome what I would describe as the misshaped structure of our trade turnover and services. At the present time 75 percent, if not 80 percent, of our cash outlays are for the acquisition of goods alone. Services account for very little, less than in many other countries.

Housing repairs are planned but just try to get your apartment repaired. You will definitely have to find a moonlighter to do it for you. He will steal the materials he needs from a construction site. They come from the state anyway. So, the question arises: Why are we unable to make a realistic evaluation of the situation?

Or consider this. As you have noticed, we have now adopted a decision on the allocation of land and necessary resources for the establishment of market gardens and plots, not for dachas, but for small summerhouses and market gardens. The facilities we have already enable 20 million people to spend their leisure there during the summer, in work and recreation, many more are asking us for gardens and plots of this kind. We have been somehow afraid that this is something akin to private enterprise. How can you call it private enterprise when a family has a small garden and spends its time breathing fresh air?

So we have now decided to earmark land sufficient for at least 1-1.2 million families. The resources, goods, and services which are available must expand to meet cash demand. Here we must use our brains.

In connection with the problem of consumer goods I should like to criticize you for the weakest point in your economy: the situation concerning the light industry of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast. I must say that it is inadequate compared to the rest of the economy. Equipment availability is especially lagging. I can only thank the light industry workers for the fact that they accomplish much nevertheless in these difficult conditions so that the quality of goods from Leningrad may be adequate.

Nevertheless, the machinery is not right and you cannot achieve productivity on it. You cannot achieve quality in finished products. Can one really conduct light industry in Leningrad in such a fashion?

I should like to ask the party aktiv of the oblast and the city and the ministry to finally complete the study of this matter. A new five-year plan is now being drafted, and I should like to ask that all these studies on modernization and the introduction of order in light industry in Leningrad be completed and included in the five-year plan.

When you think about everything that we are to resolve in the sphere of the economy and in the social spheres of life of our society, then questions arise first and foremost, of course, concerning the effectiveness of party work, party activity and party leadership--questions concerning the capability of the party at this turning point in the development of our society to take upon itself the resolution of fresh tasks, to be able to raise our people and our cadres and to put the whole system of our socialist democracy at the service of this major political, social, and economic task.

We assign great significance to questions concerning the organizational and ideological strengthening of the party, to the improvement of the style and methods of its work at all ranks. These requirements were expressed--you are familiar with them--at the April Plenum of the Central Committee. They are now being discussed at the plenums which are taking place. It has already taken place here and I know that there was a meaningful party conversation.

The report-back and election campaign is ahead. Comrades, we must think thoroughly and use this report-back and election campaign in order to enhance even further the leading role of our party and to intensify its organizational and ideological mission in our society, taking account of the fresh tasks which time has placed before us.

One should take a fresh look at all the shortcomings, negative phenomena and all sorts of blunders. This is all the more important when one takes into account that in some leading places discipline and exactingness have become lax, even in our party aktivs and our leading cadres. We should put an end to it, comrades.

While improving the system of managing the national economy we must simultaneously think about making both forms and methods of party committee work and of the party as a whole adequate to the new times. In the course of the report-back and election campaign one must become concerned with shaping of the elected aktiv and strengthening party sections with enterprising and

energetic leaders. The directives concerning all this have been firmly put forward and adopted by the April Plenum of the Central Committee and should be firmly implemented them.

We must, of course, give all our cadres the opportunity to understand the demands of the moment and this stage and to adjust. However, those who do not intend to adjust and who furthermore are an obstacle to solving these new tasks must simply get out of the way, not be a hindrance. We cannot regard the interests of one person as being higher than the interests of society as a whole (applause).

We are for observing Leninist norms in the selection, placing and education of cadres. There should be no victimization of cadres; this is inadmissible. We must proceed from Illich's directives, which have proved to be completely right in our life and historic experience through all the years, at all stages, both in days of peace and war. He taught that one has to assess people in accordance with their political, businesslike and moral qualities. What is more, these demands acquire at every stage their own meaning, their own tune, but their essence remains unchanged.

It is sometimes said, there are too few young people, make way for youth. That is right. One must open the path to leadership to young people and to women. The main thing, however, is to combine skillfully in our cadre corps both experienced and young cadres. This is the most reliable safeguard against both inertia and stagnation and against adventurism and voluntarism.

This process should develop in our life. One should not artificially prevent the infusion of new blood; but at the same time, if a person has potential and can work at full capacity, and if he is useful, he should work and enjoy our support.

On the whole, one should have a Leninist, a party attitude towards cadres: exigency and care (applause).

We, comrades, should well understand in the party committees that the cadres which will join the leadership in the course of the report-back and election campaign will assume a serious responsibility. They will have to be in charge of a very complex work on implementing strenuous plans of economic, social and spiritual progress in the 12th and following five-year periods. One has to select and place staff in accordance with this. Everybody should know well not only what has to be done, but also how to do it and to know how to implement the policy of our party promptly.

Here, too, I would say, when we are talking about cadres, the question of discipline is particularly acute.

During the meetings with working people in Moscow's Proletarskiy Rayon I was also reminded of their wishes which boiled down to a general simple formula. The meaning of their wishes was that the common efforts of the party and the people should be toward ensuring order in the country and peace on earth. It is indicative how the workers themselves reflect on the matter. They hope that order will be guaranteed in all things, in all spheres of life of our

society--in production, the area of the municipal and communal economy, trade, health care, in the area of services, and particularly in the area of management, where a deep bureaucracy has multiplied, and of course in public order. This, comrades, is a correct formulation of the problem. The working people are ready to join and are actively joining the fight for bringing about order and discipline. Without this, the problem cannot be resolved.

In general, at the moment the task of party organizations of the aktiv of each party organization, consists in using to the full these favorable conditions so that the situation in the country and in all labor collectives changes for the better.

As I have said, people are concerned that our words should not be at variance with deeds. In this, there can be no talk of any campaign. This is permanent constant work. Further, we have the decision of the Central Committee and the government which says that leading workers not capable of guaranteeing discipline and order at the proper level in collectives or in associations which they head, should not hold a leading post. Thus we must view and thus implement this directive, and thus approach this matter (applause).

Obviously we all feel that recently questions of moral order and social justices have been posed ever more acutely and persistently in all strata of our society. We sense it in the Central Committee. Here, too, it is also important to see the essence of the question and understand the demands of the people.

Our people highly value the achievements of the land of the soviets in all spheres of life, understand the problems existing in our movement forward and are ready to take an active part in overcoming difficulties, in the resolution of questions of the social and economic development. However, at the same time, they are becoming increasingly impatient. This is what I sense in my visits and contact with people: They will not tolerate abuse, violations of the law, bureaucracy, sponging, drunkenness, thriftlessness, squandering and other negative phenomena.

We have now launched the struggle against a dangerous and quite deeply rooted social ills, such as drunkenness, alcoholism. This is a party-, nation- and statewide task. We are realists, and well understand that this struggle will be lengthy. Success is possible only by plunging into it totally, waging it tirelessly, decisively and without any compromise.

Particularly acute, comrades, are the questions of a moral standard. This is right. We should have a single discipline for all, a single law for all, identical demands for all, and the most important thing--the well-being of one and all should rest on labor contribution, the quantity and quality of labor. People are so greatly indignant by instances of unearned incomes, that they ask us to devise some kind of legislation (applause).

The Soviet people strongly condemn instances of immodesty, ostentation, and empty talk. The party aktiv and our cadres must take all this into account in their work. The closer one gets to people, the greater their trust, and at the same time I should say that this on no account means playing up to them;

people don't like such leaders. People like strict, organized managers, who set a personal example of a conscientious attitude toward state affairs, exacting and considerate people. They will always support such people.

As you can see, no matter what question we may have touched upon here, in order to accelerate our movement, that of our locomotive, our huge state, we must begin by improving the whole activity of the party and of our cadres. This is the main condition which must be ensured on the basis of formulating a correct policy. Without a correct policy, the unity of the party and the people cannot be ensured. This is the first thing.

The second thing is that we must, with the strength of our party--and it is an immense strength--now raise the whole country to solving the new tasks which time has set before us. In this regard we are relying on the example of the people of Leningrad, and I wish you, great comrades, successes (sustained applause).

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'...THIS WILL BE APPRECIATED BY THE PEOPLE'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 85 (signed to press 23 May 85) pp 35-46

[Article by V. Kadulin]

[Text] The late spring was stubbornly making its way to the Grodno area. Wet snow mixed with rain kept falling from the low skies on the deeply frozen soil. Snow drifts, gray from age, depressingly piled up in the dense forests. However, the white birches lining the roads, sunk in water from the melted snow, were already enjoying the rare sunshine. With silent stubbornness the fast Neman was carrying the dirty white ice to the sea. The eyes were dazzled by the bright green color of the winter crops piercing through the snow.

A special feeling dominated the party members who gathered to attend the 7th Plenum of the Belorussian CP Grodno Obkom on 22 March, to discuss the tasks of the oblast party organization on perfecting the work with cadres in the light of the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee. This feeling, naturally, was by no means merely the result of the pleasant anticipation of the final advent of spring--a time of renovation and hope. The feeling was based, above all, on the profound satisfaction which the results of the March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum had triggered in the hearts of all Soviet people, confirming the party's firm intention to continue its purposeful struggle for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic progress, strengthening its economic and defense power and labor, state and party discipline, and comprehensively mastering the Leninist workstyle.

We know that Lenin considered the "crux of all work" "the selection of people and verification of execution" rather than "resolutions, establishments or reorganizations." "Since such things are needed by us, we shall do them," Ilich explained, in submitting the political accountability report of the RKP(b) Central Committee to the 11th Congress, in March 1922. "However, do not go with this to the people, but choose the necessary individuals and check on practical implementation. The people will appreciate this" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, pp 16, 112-113).

Time has no power over Lenin's thoughts. It only contributes to their increasingly profound interpretation, confirming the prophetic power and permanent political relevance of Lenin's lessons. As the next 27th Party Congress is approaching, the concerns of the present are increasing and

triggering a universal interest in these lessons. For the results of accomplishments must be comprehensively analyzed and realistically assessed during the time left until the congress, and future developments outlined. In a word, as was emphasized at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, this will be a time of intensive and comprehensive work--political, economic, organizational and ideological-theoretical. Such work is already under way. Unquestionably, the extensive discussion of the problem of perfecting cadre policy by the party organizations will be one of its important aspects.

It was an assignment by the editors to describe one such discussion that had brought me to the Grodno area. Naturally, the choice of the place was not accidental. The Belorussian party organization has long and firmly acquired a good reputation for its efficiency. National economic problems are being energetically and knowledgeably solved by the party members in Grodno Oblast, whose economy holds one of the leading positions in the republic for a number of indicators.

The discussion on perfecting the practice of cadre selection and placement, training and education, the tone of which was set by the strict and self-critical report submitted by L. Kletskov, the obkom's first secretary, was exacting and practical. This was entirely consistent with the spirit of the time. A quite noteworthy feature of the plenum drew attention to itself. Despite the entire sharpness and exigency of the discussions which took place, neither its content nor the atmosphere surrounding it gave the impression of something unusual happening. The entire matter, obviously, is that in Belorussia--and Grodno Oblast is no exception--a system of work with cadres had been established and used for quite some time. Such work has been done thoroughly, without any kind of campaign-type stir, without trite publicity, calmly and efficiently. It was simply work! Could it be that, precisely for this reason, it was yielding abundant results?

#### When People Are in Their Places

"Cadres decide everything!" convincingly said V. Ivanov, director of the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples Azot Production Association imeni S. O. Pritytskiy in Grodno.

"Everything" means that the plan for the first 4 years of the five-year plan for the production of chemical fertilizers was fulfilled by the end of August 1984. It means that 175 tons of fertilizer above the plan were delivered to the farmers. It means the successful implementation of the plan for the first quarter of the final year of the five-year plan, despite all the ups and downs of last winter. It means the steady perfecting of equipment and technology, which made it possible to increase the production of carbamide and kaprolaktam by tens of thousands of tons without increasing the equipment. It means the steady improvement of the consumer qualities of the output, 86 percent of which has been awarded the state Emblem of Quality....

The first tons of ammonium saltpeter were produced at the Grodno Nitrogen Fertilizer Plant, the champion of large-scale chemical production in Belorussia, more than 20 years ago. This victory was celebrated, along with the others, by chief of shop V. Ivanov, who had taken part in setting up the

technologies for saltpeter production. He had mastered the fine points of this technology at the Kemerovo ATZ [Nitrogen Fertilizer Plant] where he had worked for 5 years after graduating from the institute.

Now, after becoming the director in 1978, he was concerned with preparing for startup the fourth section of the enterprise. This time it was to be high-tonnage ammonia production. The process was being mastered by the party members, the best workers and specialists, who had been recruited from the operating shops. The same system had been practiced in commissioning the second and the third sections.... The materialization of the collective's creative thinking in terms of applied measures related to new equipment and technology had made it possible to save 7.4 million rubles from the beginning of the five-year plan, and reach a level of mechanization in basic production of 96 percent, and in auxiliary production of 86.3 percent.

"For the past 3 years we have been engaged in cottage-industry sociological research," the director said. "Naturally, our surveys are most primitive. We ask everyone what he has applied and where for the year, what the result was, not in rubles of conventional economy, but in physical terms. It immediately becomes clear that, let us say, a worker has applied seven technical innovations and another 10; a third had been writing his dissertation on the quiet, from which there had been no benefit for the production process and another one, again, had no answer. The survey revealed that three-quarters of the personnel engaged in our plant science are doing their jobs while one-quarter act as ballast. We shall consider where to place such people in order to make them useful...."

As mentioned in the report to the plenum, the Azot director's family was a list of "politically mature and competent managers, capable of working on the level of modern requirements, people distinguished by their practicality, ability to consult with others and to keep their word, purposefully conducting organizational and educational work in the collectives." After meeting with V. Ivanov, member of the CP of Belorussia Auditing Commission and deputy to the republic's supreme soviet, a modest, intelligent, quiet-spoken and charming person, one could imagine quite specifically the criteria on the basis of which the oblast party organization rates economic cadres.

"Our rating system is very simple," I was told by the first oblast secretary. "It is also impeccably honest and above-board." The list included the name of the chairman of the Order of Lenin Progress Kolkhoz, Grodneskiy Rayon. The fact that over the past decade people who had worked at Progress now head six rayon kolkhozes and sovkhozes and that another 10 have taken up party work and become chief specialists in other farms, is eloquent proof of the educational power of this collective, headed by Hero of Socialist Labor and USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy A. Dubko for more than 12 years.

However, the people's qualities are attested most completely and convincingly by their actions. The 1984 results achieved by the Progress Kolkhoz proved the fruitfulness of its intensive economic management methods of the land, the nature of the contemporary economic thinking of cadres, the powerful and by no means as yet exhausted potential of the kolkhoz system and the role of the human factor in the organization of life.

The soil of Belorussia is poor in natural fertility. At the Progress Kolkhoz it is not among the best: Farmland has a 50-point rating and plowland, 49. (For comparison's sake: In Moldavia, I was told, as a rule the land is rated at 100 points; in Grodneskiy Rayon, the average rating is 43; in Grodno Oblast it is 41.)

Last year, the kolkhoz successfully fulfilled its plan for all indicators. I shall not cite figures on gross volumes of output and sales. They are high and the kolkhoz is large. Suffice it to mention output per hectare: it is 48.2 quintals of grain crops, 254 quintals of potatoes and 440 quintals of sugar beets. Fodder units per hectare of plowland averaged 71.6 quintals and per hectare of arable land, 66.5 quintals. The public herd of cattle was supplied with home-produced feed 21.3 percent above its needs. Milk production averaged last year 3,828 kilograms per cow. The daily weight increase per heifer is 800 or more grams. The average weight of cattle sold to the state in 1984 was 491 kilograms. The kolkhoz poultry farm, currently being expanded, is engaged in the intensive growing of broilers. In 1984 Progress averaged 918.1 quintals of milk and 310.7 quintals of meat per 100 hectares of farmland.

Last year, net income exceeded 7 million rubles and production profitability equaled 53 percent. The kolkhoz members averaged 258 man-days of work at the public farm, with two free days a week between November and April. Better than many words this figure speaks of the profound interest shown by the kolkhoz members in the results of joint labor. Such interest has firm economic, social, moral-psychological and organizational foundations.

"The shop structure of production subdivision management," A. Dubko said at the obkom plenum, "makes the display of independence and initiative possible and enables us to see better the practical qualities of a person. The proper deployment of the party members enables us to extend the party's influence to all work sectors and the activities of all 72 specialists. At the present stage, the party committee and the kolkhoz administration have been able to develop cadres who can solve complex problems in agricultural production and, which is equally important, in the areas of education and consumer services to kolkhoz members...."

I can still see the picture, lit by the soft spring sunlight: on the left side of the road, beyond the black branches of the poplar trees, rose the graceful building of the palace of culture and the swimming pool, the trade complex and the kolkhoz's hotel and administrative center, surrounding on three sides the main square of this orderly and colorful settlement. Multistoried buildings, where young people prefer to live, are surrounded by garden-type quadruples and duplexes which are enjoyed by people of all ages. The USSR State Prize was awarded to architects V. Yemelyanov, G. Zaborskiy and former kolkhoz chairman Hero of Socialist Labor F. Senko, today the republic's minister of agriculture, for the layout and building of Vertelishka.

Nothing distinguishes life in the settlement from urban life except that here it is superior with its abundance of pleasing greenery, quiet, clean air, closeness to the land and a higher level of material sufficiency. It also

offers the people extensive opportunities for the use of their creative forces and contemporary knowledge. VUZ graduates and yesterday's secondary school students, more than half of whom now remain in the kolkhoz, feel at home in Progress. Should the collective expel an idler or drunk from its ranks, he sues to get back. Housing here is rent-free and schoolchildren are served one free meal daily. In the winter mechanizers as well receive one free meal. During the farming season, the kolkhoz provides its workers two free meals daily.

...A. Antonovich, chairwoman of the Bolshevik Kolkhoz, Volkovyskiy Rayon, is also counting the time when free food will be offered in her farm. She was born here, in Mochulino Village, in the family of a high production blacksmith. After graduating from secondary school she became an accountant at the kolkhoz, led the Komsomol, attended an institute, became chief economist and has headed the kolkhoz party organization for many years. Frankly speaking, the burden of the chairmanship, which was assumed by A. Antonovich 10 years ago, is heavy. However, it did not crush her or deprive her of feminine charm.

The fate of the Bolshevik chairwoman, bearer of the Labor Red Banner and Friendship of the People orders, is living proof of the accuracy and relevance of the thought which was persistently heard at the CP of Belorussia Grodno Obkom Plenum as well, of the need to promote women not only to party and soviet but also to leading economic work much more daringly than in the past. Yet, as was pointed out at the plenum, only two kolkhoz managers are women.

A. Antonovich took charge of the farm when it was a question of disbanding it due to a severe manpower shortage. The chairwoman persuaded all the old women and raised to their feet all the old men. From the very first day she launched, woman-style, an irreconcilable struggle against drugs, loafers and rogues. Some people questioned whether the chairwoman was not being too harsh and whether she would frighten away those who were still in the kolkhoz. No, she did not frighten them away but made them work and believe in the future of the farm.

Unquestionably, here everything is considerably more modest than at Progress. There are fewer people and there is less money and land than at Bolshevik. Nevertheless, here as well last year there was an average of 36.1 quintals of grain, 218 quintals of potatoes and 625 quintals of root crops per hectare. Despite the whimsical weather, the sugar beet crop averaged 309 quintals per hectare. The wages paid here are the highest in the rayon.

Preparations for the opening of a kolkhoz museum are under way in the new tastefully finished house of culture. A place has been set aside for the banners earned from Bolshevik in the course of the labor rivalry. The recently completed kindergarten is attended by 36 children supervised by concerned educators. The chairwoman complains that the construction workers have still not completed the swimming pool in front of the kindergarten. They have a great deal of other work. A number of duplexes are to be built and farm buildings erected behind them. The laundry room must be completed, after which a public bath with swimming pool will be built.

"Naturally, we have achieved some successes," A. Antonovich agrees. "We have good people! The best! That is why it is very important to have proper managers. When the managers are intelligent, decent and energetic, they are emulated and people want to learn from them. For example, take Mikhail Vikentyevich Zhebrak, our first city party committee secretary. He was a simple kolkhoz member and then excellent kolkhoz chairman, everyone will agree. He has also worked as head of the rayon agricultural administration and as a rayon executive chairman. He knows the rayon like the fingers on his hand. We know him well. Undoubtedly, the proper man for the job. He is sensitive, humane and intelligent."

This statement by the chairwoman of the Bolshevik Kolkhoz accurately reflects the overall process of improvement of the qualitative composition of cadres, party cadres above all. It was noted with satisfaction at the plenum that the oblast cadres as a whole had passed the test of maturity in the course of the intensive struggle for the implementation of the national economic plans for the first 4 years of the 11th Five-Year Plan as well as meet their socialist obligations.

Plans and obligations were successfully fulfilled by most industrial enterprises. Thanks to extensive work on intensification, acceleration of scientific and technical progress and strengthening organization and discipline, the technical characteristics of output were improved and production outlays reduced. The more efficient use of production capacities, material resources and working time made it possible to lower production costs by more than 32 million rubles compared to the plan for the last 4 years, and to earn additional profits of 63 million rubles. Procurement discipline has strengthened. Particularly good results were achieved by the participants in the large-scale economic experiment.

The majority of oblast managers undertook to expand the production of consumer goods, at nonspecialized enterprises above all, creatively and with a feeling of high responsibility. As a result, in the past 4 years the oblast's industry increased the production of consumer goods by 22 percent. Consumer goods worth more than 200 million rubles were produced above the plan.

The contribution of the rural working people to the development of the economy was substantial as well. They successfully fulfilled their program for the first 4 years of the five-year plan for the production and procurement of all types of commodities, with the exception of cattle and poultry sales. Last year farm crop yields and public cattle productivity increased. This made it possible to overfulfill the plans for state purchases of grain, potatoes, vegetables, flax, milk, cattle, poultry, eggs and wool. Today not a single kolkhoz or sovkhoz in the oblast is working at a loss.

However, the successes achieved by the Grodno working people were mentioned at the plenum in a very restrained manner. Conversely, the blunt warning of the danger of showing even the slightest complacency was mentioned clearly. This is understandable, for today it is a question of the fact that despite all existing difficulties, the 11th Five-Year Plan must be completed successfully. It is a question of, finally, achieving a sharp turn in the inadmissibly delayed conversion of our national economy to intensive development, reaching

the most advanced scientific and technical levels within a short time and raising public labor productivity to the highest global standards.

It is precisely the need to translate such truly historical tasks into practical accomplishments that governs the calm and sober approach to the assessments of accomplishments. As was pointed out at the plenum, it is in this connection that criticism is voiced in Grodno Oblast of the low growth rates of public labor productivity. Not everything is as it should be in the matter of labor discipline. In particular, a high rate of absenteeism was registered last year. No proper order has been applied in the use of reclaimed land. So far, no more than 25 percent of the drained land has reached planned capacity. Speakers at the plenum criticized shortcomings in areas other than the economy as well. Thus, for example, the attention of party, soviet and Komsomol organizations was drawn to the need to intensify atheistic work in connection with the considerable revival of the activities of religious Catholic associations in recent years. However, any problem specifically discussed at the plenum was directly linked by the speakers to its solution, in full agreement with Lenin, to patient and persistent search for and training of practical, energetic and modest workers, organically rejecting all ostentatiousness and showiness. This is no simple matter at all.

#### The Most Complex Technology

In a certain sense, cadre work is like a technology dealing with the most complex material which no computed formula can fit--people. Mastering it presumes, above all, a sympathetic, sensitive and interested and concerned attitude toward people and respect for the people. Such respect cannot be introduced in daily activities on the basis of a pertinent resolution. It is developed surreptitiously. Not in the least, it is supported by the memory of those who have made greater or lesser contributions to the land and who are no longer with us. The preservation of such memory does not require any state capital investments and most frequently does entirely without them.

Going south from the oblast's center, after a while the road sign will inform the traveler that he is on the territory of the Kolkhoz imeni P. I. Denshchikov, a kolkhoz leader respected in the Grodno area. Further along, in Derestovitskiy Rayon, the road sign invites the traveler to visit Bolshiye Eysmonty, the Kolkhoz imeni A. M. Voronetskiy. Here the people have commemorated the military pilot, teacher, 30,000-champion [tridtsatitysyachnik] and Hero of Socialist Labor, through whose efforts the once weak kolkhoz became a blossoming farm.

Yet no road sign may be found on the track leading to the Svisloch settlement. However, even without a sign this road is known as Nastina. It is owed to the efforts of Anastasiya Konstantinovna Tsagelnik. As an adolescent, during the hard postwar years, Nastya, a native of this area, washed floors at the building of the executive committee and carried the mail. This thoughtful and zealous girl was noticed. Eventually, like thousands of her coevals, Nastya developed into a statesman--chairman of the rayon executive committee and deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The grateful memory of the people has another valuable characteristic: it helps to preserve the continuity which is necessary in any kind of serious work. For the memory of that same P. Denshchikov is not merely a sign of respect for a talented, self-taught person and former farmhand, who received his certificate of evening secondary school graduation the same year that he received his Hero of Socialist Labor star. His life is also a lesson of sober peasant cunning with which he directed the farm, without any specialized training. It is also a lesson of the firmness with which he rejected a variety of doubtful "innovations," and the demanding interest with which he chose for the kolkhoz "learned" people, regularly visiting the agricultural institute and becoming acquainted with the future agronomists and zootechnicians. Finally, it is a lesson in spiritual generosity with which he trained as his replacement V. Svirid, the kolkhoz's chief agronomist.

"Sometimes newly appointed managers display the bad trait of assuming that all history begins exclusively with them," said Hero of Socialist Labor L. Kletskov, sharing at the meeting long-thought-out considerations on cadre work. "This is wrong! Even where work was utterly unsuccessful, something live probably existed. It is this living part that the collective should consider and support, for in the opposite case, if something is destroyed and nothing built in its place, failure in the work may be expected."

A respectful attitude toward anything good accomplished in the collective by one's predecessor rallies and brings the people closer together and develops respect for the person as a manager. A person is replaced not only when he has failed or committed a dishonest action. Sometimes cadres simply "burn out." It is important to take this into consideration at the proper time and, as the saying goes, switch horses. There is no such thing as a person without fault. All that is necessary is to find a suitable position for the person. Not every skillful worker or knowledgeable specialist can become a good manager. It is true that we hear sometimes that it is not the gods that fire the clay. If we are guided by this rule, however, many a pot would crack....

The party record of Svislochskiy Raykom is good. Everyone considers I. Yarmoshchuk, its first secretary, an initiative-minded manager who works with cadres skillfully.

That is precisely why I considered noteworthy, from the viewpoint of the technology of cadre work, two cases for which the rayon party organization was criticized at the plenum. I. Kalosha, chairman of the Sokolniki Kolkhoz, who had worked as chief engineer in the neighboring farm prior to his promotion, had not justified the hopes of the raykom. He had been noticed as a boy confidently driving his tractor, sent by the farm to study in an institute and, after graduation, assigned to the kolkhoz as an engineer. The young specialist proved his qualities as an engineer. After retraining, he was recommended to the kolkhoz meeting. However, the engineer proved unable to cope with the difficult duty of being chairman. He was simply not firm enough. Efforts were made to help him. He was frequently criticized and, finally, taken to task by the party. Meanwhile, nothing was going well. Yet no one realized that he was simply unable to cope. Another case is characteristic: F. Katukha had worked for 25 years as chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni V. Chkalov. He became tired and his management of the farm

became substantially weaker. Initially production began to stagnate and, subsequently, to decline. The chairman should have been replaced quickly. Instead, the raykom delayed his replacement until 1985.

Change of cadres is a natural process. Removing a person from his job is an extreme measure. As was emphasized at the plenum, it is difficult to hope for any serious success if cadres are changed too frequently. Yet, during this five-year period, every second manager of construction administration and mobile mechanized columns was changed. Between 50 and 70 percent of kolkhoz chairmen were replaced in Novogrudskiy, Smorgonskiy, Oshmyanskiy, Ivyevskiy and Dyatlovskiy rayons.

...It was impossible to keep up with I. Yarmoshchuk, as he described with warmth and enthusiasm and in picturesque details those who had been promoted to work at the oblast or the republic's capital or in neighboring rayons, and those who were continuing to work the land of their fathers. What the characters of all these stories had in common was that they had begun their school of life in the shop, the livestock farm or the kolkhoz field and had gained their first experience working with people in the Komsomol. The work universities attended by I. Yarmoshchuk himself had begun at the Grodno Construction Materials Plant and continued in his position as first secretary of the Komsomol Obkom.

"In their absolute majority, the managers of shops, departments and enterprises," said Yu. Daneshchik, director of the Volkovysk cement plant Association, at the plenum, "were 'nurtured' and raised in our labor collective. As a rule, all of them began their labor careers as workers. This offers a great advantage, which is that every single senior official has been repeatedly tested for practical qualities in different sectors and every newly promoted person has been raised in the great traditions of the collective..."

For understandable reasons, the director failed to mention that both his grandfather and his father were cadre cement workers and that he himself had begun his labor career as a fitter and, after his army service, had stood by the cement kiln.

The Belorussian CP Obkom is constantly directing all party committees and organizations to look for able and initiative-minded workers, to train them and help them reach their potential. As a matter of principle, the people here do not rely on "outsiders," but prefer their own home-grown cadres. Practical experience convincingly confirms the fruitfulness of this precise trend.

In this Grodno approach, one can speak not simply of the selection but of the controlled process of development, growth, upbringing and training of cadres and their expanded reproduction, if one wishes. The system of work with cadres has an organically built-in mechanism of continuity and legacy and enrichment of existing traditions and acquired experience. In this case, the system proves capable of self-improvement, which is considered here very important and toward which the efforts of the oblast party committees are steadily directed. Problems of work with cadres are always kept within their

sight. They are systematically and practically considered at plenary meetings and sessions of the buro and secretariat of the oblast party committee.

Thus, in the course of the obkom buro's discussion of the report submitted by Ostrovetskiy Raykom, the critical analysis was focused on the major shortcomings allowed in the rayon in work with cadres. The raykom had become less demanding toward them, allowed lack of control and permissiveness and failed to provide a principle-minded party assessment of erroneous actions by managers and specialists. The compromised workers were given equal or even more responsible duties. The party obkom buro strictly pointed out the inadmissibility of continuing such practices and demanded of the rayon committee the strict observance of party norms in work with cadres. After drawing proper conclusions from the criticisms, the Ostrovetskiy Raykom took measures to eliminate the shortcomings in its activities. It strengthened lagging sectors with conscientious workers. In turn, in the first 4 years of the five-year plan, the party gorkom and raykom buros heard reports submitted by 76 party organizations on their work with cadres.

As was pointed out at the plenum, cadre work technology has been mastered better than most by Grodno city and Grodneskiy, Slonimskiy, Korelichskiy and Volkovyskiy rayons.

"In our daily activities we are guided by the plan for cadre training and retraining drawn up for the 11th Five-Year Plan," said A. Slonov, Korelichskiy Raykom first secretary. "This long-range plan was considered and approved by the raykom buro as early as April 1981. At the beginning of this five-year plan, such plans were formulated and discussed at each production organization.... Problems of cadre selection, replacement and upbringing and their training and retraining are systematically considered by the party raykom and the primary organizations. The implementation of long-range plans is regularly studied and the party members are informed of developments at party meetings and party committee and party buro sessions...."

Naturally, such information seems much more ordinary compared to a story about extraordinary and urgent measures taken to bring order in a party organization. Fortunately, apparently the raykom has not had to take such urgent measures for quite some time. The ordinariness, repetitiveness and systematic nature of efforts are the key to successful cadre work. That is probably why the number of economic specialists in the area has increased by more than 10 percent compared with 1980. The training of specialists and medium-level cadres in VUZs and technicums is consistent with the earmarked plans. Over the last 4 years, 250 people, including 160 farm scholarship students, have graduated from such institutions and 246 scholarship and correspondence students are pursuing their training. The long-term plans of work with cadres are being systematically implemented by the primary party organizations in the rayon. Many of them have gained interesting experience in retaining young people in the countryside.

The experience in upgrading the efficiency of cadre work, acquired by the party members in the Grodno area, as presented at the plenum, was extremely interesting and comprehensive. At the Azot Association, where 900 party members are employed, the practice of party committee work with the managers

of leading production areas, shops and other structural subdivisions, based on an approved list of nomenclature positions, has been organized and was able to prove its worth a long time ago. It is with its help that the party committee actively influences the selection and placement of middle-level cadres--chiefs of shops, sectors, and shifts, foremen and brigade leaders, who head collectives where the outcome of the plan is decided above all, where the people are trained and scientific and technical accomplishments are implemented or, in a word, where end results are shaped.

"I deem it expedient," I. Kolesnichenko, Azot party committee secretary, concluded his story on this interesting experience, "that such a practice be codified. Party committees of primary party organizations with more than 500 members should not simply be given the right but also instructed to submit recommendations to economic managers on cadre promotion, transfers or replacements...."

Azot also extensively uses the tried work method of reports submitted by party members at party meetings and party buro and committee sessions. It is not only those who do poor work who must report but also those who have particularly distinguished themselves, so that others may learn. No less than once a year managers on all levels report to the collective they head.

The ever more daring plunge into production life and intensified work with people necessitate constant concern on the part of party cadres in the association and strengthening the level of management provided by the many dozens of party organizations and party groups. To be a secretary also means to attend a school, which the party committee tries to have as many specialists as possible attend, for the elective party aktiv is a reliable reserve for future captains of industry. With rare exceptions, even a good specialist appointed by the shop chief may become confused at the complexity of relations within the collective. However, after working several years as a party organization secretary, he acquires firm habits of work with people. This school for the elective party aktiv cures him of bureaucratic manners and ordering people around.

Another important feature: an economic manager who has gone through such training develops his relations with the party organization and its secretary differently. This is quite important, for the administrative subordination of the shop party organization secretary to the economic manager could create quite severe clashes. A strong, willful and creatively working secretary, who believes in the help of the party committee, can take a bold stance in an argument with an administrator overstepping his bounds. Some secretaries become subservient to their shop chiefs. That was the reason for which I. Kolesnichenko also voiced the idea of the expediency of introducing into the CPSU Bylaws a section or article which would define the rights and obligations of secretaries of primary and shop party organizations.

In the opinion of the Azot party committee secretary, it is particularly important in the case of a collective of several thousand people to be able to become acquainted with all the people and for the people to know that they have been noticed. Kolesnichenko is convinced that every person must be

confident that if he works creatively he is bound to be noticed, as he would be if he does poor work.

#### Exigent Confidence

This word combination expresses most accurately the attitude toward cadres asserted and, I would hazard, predominant in the oblast party organization. Exigency and confidence are words which were mentioned together in the plenum report and the speeches of the delegates.

I was discouraged by the statement of M. Zhebrak, first secretary of the Volkovysk Gorkom, when he said that in all of 1984 L. Kletskov had phoned him precisely twice--no more and no less. The first secretary visited the rayon and the farms much more frequently. I will not conceal that I kept doubting the statement until the number of telephone calls named by Zhebrak was confirmed by the first obkom secretary. Indeed, on one occasion he had to telephone him on meeting a delegation which had arrived in the oblast; the second time was when the rayon was unable to fulfill its sugar beet plan.

"Why telephone more frequently?" said L. Kletskov, sincerely puzzled. "If a person is assigned a responsible position, he should be trusted! Give him freedom of action, freedom to display his initiative. Otherwise he will not develop into a good worker. If you, as a manager, have confidence in the cadres in fact, and not in word only, why burden them with endless telephone calls, why waste nervous energy? Even if something happens, such as, for example, a drastic change in the weather, one should not think that the local people would be doing nothing but waiting for your managerial telephone call...."

The obkom first secretary is convinced that one should not hurry to the telephone even when a subordinate has clearly failed in his work. He must be given the opportunity to see personally the nature of his error. One should not hit someone for an error committed at work. If a person has grossly violated the norms of party ethics and communist morality, if he turns out to be a bribe taker, a thief and a drunk, this becomes a different matter. Such people should be immediately expelled from work and the party. But as far as an error in the work is concerned, so what? The simplest way to avoid errors is to do nothing. A poor manager is the one who can only penalize his subordinate rather than suggest something positive. Generally speaking, in L. Kletskov's opinion, to order people around is futile and even harmful, and even more so when it applies to party work. The manager must help the person to develop his talents and to make him work without having to look over his shoulder. Those who thoughtlessly obey orders turn out to be poor workers....

As to supervision, every year a report of a party gorkom or raykom is submitted to the obkom buro on its overall activities; the other party committees submit reports on specific problems as required by circumstances. Control has nothing in common with a blanket investigation. With rare unanimity the party members said that of late the number of possible investigations has exceeded all conceivable limits. The impression is being created that by checking the work of others, the large staffs of central departments are trying to justify their existence and prove that they are

needed in doing work which, in reality, they only hinder. The decision made at Grodno was to set up a council under the oblast people's control committee, which would coordinate this superficially active yet frequently absolutely useless activity which irritates and insults the people. Unfortunately, the council was of no great help.

In an effort to eliminate the issuing of orders by cadres, the oblast party committee put an end to the practice of assigning to the farms various representatives. Why, the question was asked, send the chief of the rayon militia department or the chairman of the rayon consumer union to be present at the sowing campaign? What could they teach the farmers and what advice could they give to a kolhkoz chairman or sovkhoz director who commands several highly skilled graduate specialists?

I suddenly realized that I had not heard pronounced even a single time the word "initiative," which is so popular in our press and which tumbles so easily out of the mouth of some managers. The reason for this, as we saw it, was the emphatically respectful attitude toward this word, which immediately makes us recall the precious name of Illich, and his immortal behests.

My interlocutors, starting with the first secretary of the obkom, admitted that they were unable to understand how the obligation of getting the equipment ready for the sowing campaign on time or ensuring its suitable repair could be described as an initiative, for this was nothing but the official duty of people assigned to take care of the equipment. The same applies to preparing livestock farms for wintering. Previously, as is still the case elsewhere, various types of reviews were held and seminars organized in the Grodno area. That was until at one point they said "enough!" Dear economic managers and comrade specialists, we are giving you a deadline--1 October. By then please make all farms ready for the winter without enthusiastic speeches and solemn fanfares.

A somewhat similar approach is applied in resolving problems of separating the functions of party, soviet and economic organs. In our life there are no free sectors, "not covered" by any specific management body. What is important is for the party committee not to interfere, let us say, in an area within the competence of the soviets and not hinder them in their work. Do not even mention the idea of substitution! Everyone must do his own job.

The desire not to burden cadres with far-fetched innovations is a clearly manifested workstyle of the oblast party organization. It believes that the first thing to do is to learn to make better use of time-tested forms of party work, to resolve problems in fact rather than on paper, and tirelessly to learn how to be practical.

Another thing discussed at the plenum was the need to master the standards of criticism and self-criticism, to unlearn presenting self-serving reports in the discussion of touchy problems, emphasizing successes and pushing shortcomings aside. Another topic was the harmful way of criticizing essentially middle-level cadres, specialists and rank-and-file party members and far less frequently managers. How can it be considered normal that in the addresses by party members at meetings and party committee plenums it is rare

to hear a critical remark addressed to the buro or the personnel of party gorkoms and raykoms or the obkom? Even when such criticism is addressed, it is essentially presented as a wish or a request.

Today our party is paying great attention to the intensification of socialist democracy. As the participants in the plenum pointed out, by no means has everything been done in the oblast tangibly to enhance the role of labor collectives in production management and in the communist upbringing of the working people. However, the steps taken in this direction have shown encouraging results. Thus, the participation of kolkhoz members in resolving current and long-term farm development problems has become substantially energized. The task was formulated with extreme simplicity: the kolkhoz has its bylaws which must be observed strictly. If the bylaws call for a council of brigade leaders, such councils must be active rather than exist on paper only. If the kolkhoz board must meet every month, let us have such a meeting. The required quarterly meeting of representatives must mandatorily take place. The rayon agricultural administrations were instructed to supervise the observance of the stipulated order and to report violations to the party raykoms. In the sovkhozes as well currently the regular holding of worker meeting and the duty of the permanent production conferences to perform all their functions correctly are kept under strict supervision.

I must point out yet another method for specific assistance to cadres in their daily work as well as a form of preventive control, which was developed in the oblast and, as long experience has proved, has been quite effective: the so-called defense of measures. This starts at a production sector where, at the end of the year, the results of accomplishments are summed up. Subsequently, after receiving from the kolkhoz board or the sovkhоз office the draft production program for the next year, managers and sectorial specialists begin to figure out how to fulfill the plan and meet their socialist obligations. The sector's "defense" is presented via the kolkhoz board whose plan is submitted to a rayon commission. A commission from Grodno comes to defend the measures formulated on the rayon scale. Subsequently, once a month the whole thing is repeated for the sole purpose of discussing on the development of the project. On the rayon level this investigation takes no more than 1.5-2 hours.

The "defense of measures" is also a type of training in efficiency and instructing party and economic cadres and soviet personnel and specialists in progressive work methods. Last but not least of its merits is that it quite quickly reveals the true value of a worker, his professional knowledge and degree of practical skill in organizing the joint work of people. We believe that this "defense" system has influenced the efficiency and organizational level of the plenary meetings held by the oblast's party gorkoms and raykoms and various conferences. So far, however, it has been unable to curtail "paper-shuffling" work methods, for which the party oblast committee personnel alone should not be accused in the least.

"The administrative apparatus," complained at the plenum K. Lushnevskiy, first secretary of the Slonim city party committee, "is expanding steadily. It keeps demanding references, reports, plants, measures, etc. The gorkom receives on a daily average one such document which requires either an

extended answer or the formulation of a work plan or the drafting of corresponding measures.... This paper carousel absorbs cadre time needed for live organizational work. Let us consider planning. A number of decisions have been made on improving it. Yet, some kind of game develops, once again, in issuing plans. Eventually, particularly toward the end of the five-year plan, all sorts of corrections show up. This lowers the mobilizing role of the plan and does not have the best possible impact on the organization of production. The party obkom and the oblast executive committee justifiably hold accountable managers of industrial enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes who allow the nonfulfillment of plan indicators. The same measure should be applied with all party strictness to superior management cadres as well"....

"We always talk of the need to learn how to manage thrifitly and to upgrade the independence of economic managers and develop socialist enterprise. However, we cannot fail to see that rigid stipulations frequently clash with such necessary management qualities," continued V. Voshko, Mostovskiy rayon executive committee chairman, in discussing this sensitive and painful subject. "For example, a recently passed instruction on measures of responsibility for violating the procedure for the utilization of material values paralyzes the actions of the economic manager, deprives him of his independence and, in the final account, harms the economy...."

That same famous Progress Kolkhoz employs more than 70 graduate specialists directly involved in the production process. To this day, however, as is the case with other farms, it is not only issuing plans for sales of agricultural commodities but also detailed schedules for fodder procurements, the procurement and hauling of organic manure to the fields, harvesting, etc.

"This makes the people wonder and insults the specialists," A. Dubko, Progress chairman, complained at the plenum. "Planning materials and technical support are extremely poor. By the end of the first quarter we are still waiting to be told what equipment has been allocated to us and when we shall receive it; the list of construction projects for the current year has not been issued and ceilings on the use of electric power have not been set...."

Slightly more than 2 weeks later, along with other heads of industrial associations, enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes and production brigades and specialists and scientists, on 8 April A. Dubko shared his concerns at a CPSU Central Committee meeting. The suggestions formulated at that time, as was subsequently pointed out at a CPSU Central Committee Politburo meeting, are of great importance in the formulation of the basic directions in the economic and social development of the country, accelerated production intensification, advancement of the economic mechanism and management and upgrading the activeness and initiative of labor collectives. The measures approved at the Politburo session on the implementation of the proposals submitted at the meeting are an example of the truly Leninist ability of our party's Central Committee to listen to the opinion of the working people and keenly to sense the mood of the masses.

As was said at the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Lenin taught the party members to base everything on the interests of the working people, to study life profoundly, to assess social phenomena on the basis of realistic class-

oriented positions and to engage in a constant creative search for the best ways of perfecting the ideals of communism. These words, we believe, offer the most apt characterization of the work of the plenum itself.

...Last spring's story involving B. Myat, chairman of the Sovetskaya Belorussiya Kolkhoz, was instructive and profoundly consistent with the requirements and feelings of the present. In accordance with the implementation of the plan of work with cadre reserves, it was suggested for the chairman to be promoted, having proven himself a talented organizer. For the same reason, however, the kolkhoz members violated this plan by opposing the forthcoming nomination. With the agreement of the candidate for promotion, and the approval of the party obkom, Korelichskiy raykom honored the request of the kolkhoz members, considering this to be the only proper solution. "Let us keep this hard-working, good-hearted person, who respects the people," the kolkhoz members wrote to the party raykom. "In turn, we assure you that we will work even better and strengthen our kolkhoz, the party and the entire country."

Could anyone describe better the direct and firm link between skillful management and the creative activeness of the masses, between those who manage and those who are managed, relations which are equally fruitful in the work of all units and at all levels of management of socialist society?

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## PRODUCTION INTENSIFICATION CALLS FOR INTENSIFIED ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

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[Article by L. Yermin, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission on Environmental Protection and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources]

[Text] The protection, efficient utilization and reproduction of natural resources have always been among the most important concerns of our society. On the second day after the Great October Socialist Revolution, the land and all natural resources were nationalized and put under the protection of the state. During the difficult period of dislocation, civil war and intervention, decrees on forests, water resources, the fish stock, preserves, the subsoil, and others were promulgated (we know of some 100 environmental protection documents signed by V. I. Lenin), which asserted that in a society based on socialist property the possibility arises of organizing relations with nature on an essentially new basis. Lenin's ideas on harmoniously combining human with environmental interests and rational utilization of nature determined the important trends in party and governmental activities and became the base for the moral upbringing of all Soviet generations. In our country, measures to protect nature became an inseparable part of governmental plans for economic and social development, which enables us, while maintaining a high rate of scientific and technical progress, to apply it on a planned and purposeful basis in preserving the necessary ecological balance.

The Soviet Union is an active participant in a number of international conventions and agreements, for the preservation and improvement of the environment is a universal problem in which united and joint efforts are important. We have invariably supported the strengthening and development of such cooperation. An overall expanded environmental protection and improvement program and rational utilization of resources is being successfully implemented within the framework of CEMA.

Reality continually convinces us that the organization of a proper utilization of nature is largely determined by resolving the problems related to upgrading public production efficiency and its intensification and the growth of the people's well-being. Obviously, considering the qualitative changes which are taking place in the development of production forces, toward

which the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum is directing our efforts, and the growing pace of scientific and technical progress, the comprehensive activities aimed at preserving and multiplying our natural resources must become energized even further. The efforts of the economic and public organizations and of the entire people are oriented in that direction.

In this connection, the Russian Federation, where substantial deposits of many vitally important resources are concentrated, faces major tasks: petroleum, natural gas, nickel and apatites have been discovered in its subsoil, which contains three-quarters of proven hard and brown coal reserves and more than one-half of the proven reserves of iron ores and potassium salts; it accounts for 60 percent of the country's arable land, about 90 percent of its water resources and 95 percent of its forests. It is common knowledge that the share in Siberia and the Far East of the overall balance of mineral-raw material and other resources increases with every passing year. The more intensive their exploitation, the more intensive should environmental protection measures become.

What are the main directions in this work on which attention is focused, and what are the priority problems today?

It is a question, above all, of protecting our main resource--the land. It is to this purpose that a number of agrotechnical and organizational measures are being implemented in the republic, above all within the framework of adopted farming systems. Plowless soil cultivation, which is now used on an area in excess of 20 million hectares, has nearly doubled in size since 1976. Within that period, the terraced cultivation of slopes and the construction of anti-erosion hydroengineering systems increased by one-half, which allowed us to protect major areas from destructive erosion. Land recultivation has been increased by more than one-half.

We have begun to pay greater attention to the proper storing and utilization of chemical fertilizers and plant protection chemicals. Increasing use is being made of biological methods of fighting crop pests and diseases. Such work is particularly successful in the Tatar and Checheno-Ingush autonomous republics, Krasnodar Kray and Sverdlovsk Oblast. The stable trend of reducing the amount of land taken over for nonagricultural purposes is gratifying.

The problem of the efficient utilization of the land is, to a large extent, a problem of its extensive reclamation. It is common knowledge that the October 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum formulated prospects for the further development of reclamation and earmarked an extensive program for action. Suffice it to say that during the 12th Five-Year Plan, in our republic alone more than 22 billion rubles' worth of capital investments (nearly 3 billion more than were allocated this five-year plan) will be channeled into reclamation.

The Russian Federation has already gained substantial experience in such work. Currently, the republic has more than 10 million hectares in reclaimed land. Furthermore, more than 3 million hectares of currently irrigated and drained land have been improved and crop engineering operations have affected nearly 19 million other hectares. It is noteworthy that our reclamation workers have

charted a course of building capital and technically advanced systems which ensure a high land utilization coefficient, low water filtration losses and the use of a set of measures to recultivate soils and to prevent secondary salinization or swamping. The practice of many farms convincingly proved the high efficiency of underground draining, which increases drained land yields 50 to 100 percent. Double action systems, which allow us not only to drain but, if necessary, to increase the moisture of the soil, are becoming increasingly popular.

Today the workers in the republic's agroindustrial complex consider the implementation of a broad reclamation program and ensuring high yields from irrigated and drained land and seeing to it that thorough scientific research, which excludes violations of the ecological balance, precede reclamation, their most important task.

Under the conditions of intensive economic development and mass consumer construction, the water supply problem and water saving, as an irreplaceable natural resource, and the protection of water resources, assumes great importance. It is no accident that this five-year plan three-quarters of all capital investments channeled into environmental protection will be used for building water preservation projects. Today the task of ministries, departments and local soviet bodies is not only to be concerned with the unconditional utilization of such funds but also to implement highly effective measures and ensure the reliable protection of water reservoirs with minimal outlays of forces and funds.

The means of resolving this problem are known: upgrading the productivity of treatment systems with the use of chemical agents, use of oxygen instead of air in biological treatment, perfecting the technology and developing equipment for the treatment of organic and chemical fertilizer precipitates in sewer waters, using sewer waters for irrigation and industrial water supplies and intensifying natural treatment processes in water reservoirs. An extensive role has been assigned to the building of projects for the recirculated and recycled use of water as one of the elements in wasteless output. Stations for the treatment of 46.5 million cubic meters of effluent waters daily were commissioned between 1976 and 1984. At the same time, a system was completed for the utilization of recycled water with an overall capacity for 83.6 million cubic meters per day. As a result, this five-year plan alone, dumping polluted effluent waters in the republic's water reservoirs has declined by more than 15 percent.

We are paying the closest possible attention to the preservation of a unique natural complex--the basin of Lake Baykal. A number of important decisions were made in recent years, the implementation of which enabled us significantly to lower the adverse effect of rapidly developing industry on the condition of lakes and the environment. However, extensive work lies ahead. Its main trends are the comprehensive utilization of mineral, timber and other resources, reconstruction of operating enterprises, developing ecologically clean production facilities, organizing reservations and developing population recreation areas. The implementation of such assignments and the ecological situation in the Baykal area are steadily controlled by the soviet bodies. This question was recently discussed at a

meeting of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium, at which omissions were exposed and a program for specific actions earmarked.

It is hardly necessary to prove the importance of the cleanliness and the efficient utilization of the water resources of big river basins. A great deal is being done in this respect and we can already note a decline in the pollution of rivers such as the Desna, Don, Kuban, Moskva, Kama and some others. Currently, consistent with a resolution of the RSFSR government, a survey of small rivers is under way in the republic and water protection areas are being planned, which will ensure the restoration of their cleanliness and volume. However, many unresolved problems remain.

For example, we are familiar with the negative aspects of timber floating: the logs sink or scatter along the banks, which in a number of areas disturbs the river beds, damages and destroys spawning grounds and worsens the hydrochemical condition of water reservoirs. In order to ensure their cleanliness and create conditions for the reproduction of the fish stock, efforts are being made in our republic to curtail the use of this method. Starting with 1966, it was stopped along 886 rivers and water reservoirs (172 of them of great fishing importance). Unfortunately, the scale of such work remains insufficient. Additional steps should be taken to reduce the volume of log floating and to observe all water preservation requirements. The final word here is that of the USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper and Wood Processing Industry.

Agriculture as well has its problems related to the protection of water resources. One of the most important among them is the use of the sewage of large livestock-breeding complexes and farms. Major errors had been made in designing, building and operating such projects. In particular, in a number of animal husbandry complexes the premises are hosed down, as a result of which the amount of sewage increases drastically and the storing and utilization of manure become more difficult.

Yet, good experience may be found (in individual farms and entire oblasts) of the successful solution of such problems. In Belgorod Oblast, for example, a great deal is being done to develop irrigated fields and, on this basis, increase the production of feed crops and prevent the pollution of rivers and water reservoirs. Here more than 20,000 hectares are irrigated with sewage. Most farms harvest high alfalfa and corn crops at lower costs per fodder unit in such areas.

Great attention to such problems is paid at the Tutayev Poultry Farm in Yaroslavl Oblast. Here, thanks to the extensive use of compost, not only are water reservoirs reliably protected but high economic results achieved as well.

Sewage released from food industry enterprises, such as sugar refineries, starch-molasses, oil extraction-cheesemaking and yeast-manufacturing plants, is used for irrigation purposes in many kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Krasnodar Kray and Kursk Oblast. Such yields are 25 percent higher than those of fields irrigated with clean water, and double or triple those of crops grown on nonirrigated areas. The agroindustrial associations have real possibilities

of applying more extensively such technology, which yields economic benefits and conserves water resources.

In speaking of the protection and sensible utilization of our water resources, we must emphasize (despite the entire obviousness of the matter) that such problems should be the center of attention of ministries, departments, soviet and economic bodies and the entire public. We must mention this also because the 1976-1984 assignment on completing stations for the treatment of effluent waters was not implemented in full; the construction of a number of large water protection projects in the basins of the Volga and Ural rivers was delayed; a considerable amount of raw sewage was dumped in the republic's water reservoirs. This situation, naturally, cannot be tolerated. The state control authorities in charge of water protection and sanitation must, unquestionably, make fuller use of their rights, take more strictly to task violators of water legislation and take decisive steps which may even include closing down some production facilities, should polluted water reservoirs become a threat to human health.

A no less important trend in activities related to the protection of natural resources is concern for forests. The huge areas (767 million hectares) in and the comprehensive purpose of Russian forests make their protection, rational utilization and multiplication a national task. The implementation of a set of measures, specifically in the sensible geographic location of timber procurements, the development of capacities for the extensive processing of lumber and the more extensive use of soft wood species in the cellulose and paper industry and construction have made it possible to improve somewhat the utilization of timber resources in recent years. Characteristically, coniferous cutting has declined by nearly 80 percent and blanket tree cutting is down two-thirds since 1970.

As a rule, cleared timber areas are being fully replanted with economically valuable species (replanting is also taking place on barren areas, unused land, burned-out areas, etc.). In order for such work to meet the standards of scientific and technical progress, long-term programs are being implemented for the development of a durable forest seed-growing base through selection. Forest nurseries are being merged, equipment and technology used in forestry are being perfected and problems related to the comprehensive mechanization of labor-intensive processes and chemization are being resolved. Since large areas of Russian forest stock are in areas of excessive moisture, a significant percentage of our plans deals with draining. A general plan has been formulated for draining forests in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR, taking into consideration environmental protection requirements (in particular, reservations, preserves, water protection zones and high altitude and cranberry-growing swamps will be left untouched). Protective forestation in the struggle against erosion and with a view to upgrading the productivity of fields and pastures is increasing in scope.

The numerous reserves and national parks, state national parks in particular, are actively contributing to the preservation of forests and the entire vegetal and animal world. Many of them--the Astrakhan, Barguzin, Voronezh and Caucasian--have become true standards of the natural environment. Here rare

animals and valuable plants have not only been preserved but have multiplied and helped to spread in neighboring territories.

Unquestionably, better order prevails in the forest industry. Nevertheless, losses remain high. Every year, more than 40 million cubic meters of deciduous timber remain underutilized in the European-Ural zone of the RSFSR alone. A great deal of the timber is left behind in the felling areas or lost along the way. It is obvious that the USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper and Wood Processing Industry, the USSR State Committee for Forestry, the RSFSR Ministry of the Forestry Industry and other timber procurers should ensure the more efficient utilization of resources and take specific measures significantly to increase the production of progressive types of commodities, such as pressed wood and fiber wood tiles, plywood, cardboard, and heating briquettes made of timber waste and bark. Soft wood should be used more extensively in the production of lumber, packaging and industrial wood chips for the needs of the cellulose-paper industry and hydrolysis.

Recent party documents particularly emphasize the need for charting a course of persistent and systematic enhancement of public production efficiency and struggle for the economical utilization of raw and other materials, reducing waste and eliminating losses. Whereas in the past economy was frequently considered a supplement to the steadily growing and, it seemed, inexhaustible resources, today the situation has changed significantly: we can no longer rely on a steady increase of resources. Today, it is precisely conservation that becomes our most important source for ensuring the growth of output.

There are numerous ways to conserve. This applies, above all, to natural resources. Priority is given today, however, to increasing the comprehensiveness of the extraction and processing of minerals, the conversion to low-waste, resource-saving technologies and upgrading the level of utilization of secondary raw materials.

Changes in this direction have occurred lately. Let us note that already more than 50 percent of valuable byproducts of the mineral raw materials processed at nonferrous metallurgical enterprises are being extracted, compared to 12 percent in 1965. By using them, every year the sector produces substantial additional output. For the first time in the world, our republic has developed and is applying on an industrial scale wasteless technology in processing nepheline. Enterprises have been created, such as the Glinozem Production Association in Pikalevo, the Aluminum Plant imeni S. M. Kirov in Volkhov and the Electrolyte Zinc Plant imeni S. M. Kirov in Chelyabinsk, which use virtually wasteless technology. A number of food industry enterprises use low-waste technology. This particularly applies to the fruit-processing plant in Seversk, Krasnodar Kray, which is the first in the country to manufacture powdered fruit and glucose products used in the manufacturing of confectionery goods.

The use of hot effluent water of electric power plants in energy-biological complexes is an example of the utilization of heat waste and an important reserve in increasing the production of agricultural and fish products. The creation of fresh-water farms in the vicinity of power plants is becoming increasing popular. In Tsentralnyy Rayon, RSFSR, in 1984 alone hot water

effluent was used at the fish-breeding farms of five large thermoelectric power plants. The creation of cooling greenhouses, which cool the water used in the recycled water supply systems of thermoelectric power plants and heating greenhouses, is a promising trend.

However, the overall situation with the development and application of low-waste or wasteless technologies is a matter of concern. Although the conversion to such a production method, which enables us not only to improve the ecological situation but also to obtain significant economic results, has been universally accepted as the most important trend in environmental protection, work in this area is developing sluggishly. Poor use is being made of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. In some cases obsolete, ecologically imperfect solutions inconsistent with the level of contemporary tasks are still being applied.

It has been estimated that in order to ensure the normal life of a single person, no less than 20 tons of various types of natural raw materials must be processed every year. No more than 5 to 10 percent of the initial resources end up as finished useful products, and the rest is dumped as waste. Whereas mineral extraction doubles every 10 years, the volume of various types of waste increases even faster. Most of them are formed at coal and chemical industry, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and construction materials enterprises, although ways for the efficient utilization of such raw materials as well are known.

Today the mining industry accounts for three-quarters of the overall volume of production waste in the national economy. This is the equivalent of some 3 billion tons, no more than 6-7 percent of which are currently used, although specialists have estimated that almost 70 percent of rocks from strip mining and underground mines could be successfully used for the production of construction and other materials. Meanwhile, the ministries and departments manufacturing construction materials are continuing to increase their own capacities for the production of sand, lime and gravel. That is why it is planned that in the formulation of the intersectorial balance for the extraction and consumption of mineral raw materials for the production of construction materials in 1986-1990 and the period through the year 2000, the soviet and planning bodies will proceed from giving priority to raw material requirements through the utilization of byproducts of mined and stripped rock and waste from the processing of mineral raw materials and ashes of thermoelectric power plants. It is precisely such materials which will be considered the base for further increases in the production of construction materials.

Our country has developed a technology for the manufacturing of various materials made of cinder and has gained practical experience in their use. A list has been drawn up of construction materials and structures the production of which could be organized within a rather short time. For the time being, however, we must note that the thermoelectric power plants of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, which burn solid fuel (coal and shale) annually generate about 110 million tons of ash and cinder (55 million in the Russian Federation); large funds are spent for their removal, transportation

and storing; at the present time, dump sites which cover useful land contain some 3.5 billion tons of such waste, only some 10 percent of which is used.

The interests of the national economy demand as of now basing the planning and designing of industrial enterprises and territorial-production complexes on low-waste or wasteless production methods. In order to accelerate the development and mastery of resource-conserving technologies, it is very important to appoint base enterprises in all sectors and supply them with the necessary material resources.

At the same time, we must develop and perfect the system of utilization of secondary raw materials and all sorts of byproducts. The efficient organization of such recycling will enable us not only to provide industry with a large additional source of valuable goods but will also substantially prevent environmental pollution.

For example, we know that polymer materials are practically nonbiodegradable. Yet approximately 17 kilograms of plastic materials are produced annually per capita. Dozens and hundreds of tons of such substances are eventually dumped, thus polluting cities and settlements. On the other hand, however, these are extremely rich "deposits" of valuable raw materials and a tremendous reserve for upgrading public production effectiveness (for example, a ton of recycled polyethylene saves more than 16 tons of petroleum). Significant savings may be obtained by using scrap and waste of ferrous and nonferrous metals and other secondary resources. Suffice it to say that collecting and processing metal scrap is 25 times less expensive than the production of metal from natural raw materials. The full utilization of this source is a most important national economic task today.

Let us consider another major feature: the collection of secondary raw materials from the population, which accounts for one-half of all waste paper and about 70 percent of waste textile materials. Here as well available possibilities are by no means used in full. Whereas per capita use of paper in the Russian Federation is in excess of 34.5 kilograms, no more than 6 kilograms are returned as wastepaper. Obviously, we must increase the network of mobile centers for the reception of secondary raw materials and improve countersales of commodities in greater demand. Such work is already being done in Rostov, Kuybyshev and Voronezh oblasts. A comprehensive program for the utilization of industrial and consumer waste is under way in Murmansk Oblast.

The use of waste as secondary raw material is more efficient on the scale of large areas and territorial-production complexes. The departments and scientific organizations responsible for the formulation of programs for the utilization of specific secondary resources will be named in the immediate future.

Production intensification cannot be considered today separately from the protection of our air basin, for the main reasons for air pollution of late has been, precisely, the intensive development of industry, thermoelectric power and transportation.

Atmospheric pollution may have negative consequences of a global nature, including the destruction of the ozone layer, which is basic to the protection of all life forms from ultraviolet radiation. So far, the release of harmful substances has not reached a threatening dimension. However, for the planet as a whole it is showing a growing trend. Concern for the fate of the atmosphere is forcing mankind to take urgent steps for the protection of the air basin. Such work is being done most energetically and consistently in our country. Its legal foundation is the USSR Law on the Protection of Atmospheric Air, which was passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1980.

Our country was the first to stipulate admissible air pollution limits and to assess the quality of the air. The norms limiting the release of noxious substances with discharged and exhaust gases are quite strict. They vary according to cities and enterprises and are strictly supervised. With a view to drastically reducing such emissions throughout the country, including our republic, a uniform technical policy is implemented aimed at centralizing supplies of thermal and electric power energy, improving production processes and making them close to low-waste and wasteless. At the same time, steps are being taken to equip industrial enterprises with new highly efficient facilities and considerably increasing the construction and reconstruction of gas treatment and dust-tapping equipment. A great many measures are planned for motor vehicles, which account for more than 50 percent of all harmful emissions in the large cities. This includes systems for neutralizing and thoroughly cleaning waste gases from carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons, equipping Zhiguli cars with low-toxicity ozone carburetors, increasing the production of motor vehicles running on compressed gas, use of new types of fuel and increasing public transport facilities, subways, trolley buses and streetcars above all.

As a rule, the implementation of the entire set of such measures yields efficient results. In Moscow, for example, more than 3,300 systems for the treatment of gases have been installed and more than 300 small boiler rooms have been closed down over the past 10 years; in the past 3 years 33 production facilities, which adversely affected the atmosphere, were moved outside city limits and 67 more advanced technological processes were mastered. It is no accident that in terms of the purity of its air, our capital is leading among the largest cities in the world. We have also been able to reverse the general trend from increased air pollution to its stabilization and reduction in the overwhelming majority of cities.

Nevertheless, we are far from having attained a satisfactory situation. Under the conditions of intensification, the measures we take are not always and everywhere adequate. The release of harmful substances in the atmosphere by a number of enterprises exceeds admissible norms. A large number of installed treatment systems tap solid substances essentially and much less gaseous matters. Furthermore, in frequent cases basic production capacities are commissioned before the construction of environmental protection projects has been completed (the ministries of timber, pulp and paper and wood-processing industry, power and electrification, nonferrous metallurgy and chemical industry are at the tail end in installing systems for tapping harmful substances from gas emissions). Let us point out that 94 percent of all

releases into the atmosphere in the republic today are at enterprises of union ministries and departments.

Recently the CPSU Central Committee Politburo discussed the question of taking additional steps to prevent atmospheric pollution in cities and other settlements and industrial centers. The USSR Council of Ministers earmarked an extensive program for the construction of new and upgrading the efficiency of installed dust-tapping and gas treatment systems, strengthening technological discipline, removing from residential areas and changing the type of output of a number of production facilities, converting enterprises and transport facilities to the use of other types of fuel, increasing the effectiveness of state control bodies and upgrading responsibility for observing legislation on the protection of the atmosphere. Assignments were issued to ministries and departments for the 12th Five-Year Plan and subsequent periods and substantial capital investments are being appropriated for their implementation.

Extensive work is being done in our republic on concretizing the most important stipulations of this document. The closest possible attention is paid to enhancing the restorative functions of nature itself, for the purification of effluent gases, however perfect it may be, will not increase the oxygen content of the air. Meanwhile, a hectare of plants produces on an average the amount of oxygen consumed by 200 people. That is why all of our cities, the large ones in particular, have charted a course of comprehensively expanding greenery and creating parks, gardens, squares, flowerbeds and forest parks. This calls for extensive work by economic managers, executive committees of local soviets and the public at large.

Particular mention should be made of the soviets and their increased role. The broadening of their rights contributes to the fuller practical implementation of the Leninist principle of unity of legislation, management and control, including the area of environmental protection. This is convincingly confirmed by the activities of soviet organs in Sverdlovsk and its oblast. A special session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies was held at the beginning of 1983 to consider problems related to protecting the environment of this industrial area. An expanded resolution was adopted at the session. Here the commission in charge of environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources plays an active role in the practical implementation of the planned measures to improve the ecological situation. Interrayon committees for the protection of the Chusova, Iset, Pyshma, Tavda and Tura rivers and their affluents have been set up. Deputy posts have been opened at particularly important sites.

The Moscow city executive committee and the Leningrad, Yaroslavl, Orel and many other oblast soviets are engaged in extensive organizational work under the guidance of party bodies.

The Commission for Environmental Protection and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources was set up under the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium in 1982. Its range of activities includes major nature utilization problems, the observance of ecological requirements in designing territorial-production complexes, construction and reconstruction of enterprises and intensified

coordination among ministries, departments and local soviet organs. The commission considered (and passed specific resolutions on) topical problems such as the rational utilization of water reservoirs in the Arctic basin, protecting the Baltic and Caspian seas and the basins of a number of other large and small Russian rivers from pollution and the work of soviet and economic authorities in preventing air pollution in Krasnoyarsk, Kazan, Novomoskovsk, Cherepovets, Togliatti and several other cities. Strict control was organized over the implementation of planned measures for the protection and rational utilization of the republic's land and subsoil.

Similar commissions have been set up in the majority of the Russian Federation's autonomous republics, krays and oblasts. Their practical activities should greatly contribute to upgrading the responsibility for environmental protection and adopting a thrifty attitude toward its resources on the part of those directly engaged in their exploitation and, in the final account, in surmounting sluggishness in economic thinking and the consumerist approach of individual economic managers in the utilization of natural resources ignoring the needs of the future. This is quite important, for concern for our common wealth must be displayed above all in the course of the production process and the process of interaction with the environment, rather than after the appearance of negative consequences or ecological problems.

This is worth mentioning also because a number of ministries and departments are still underestimating the importance of measures related to environmental protection, planning them without the necessary coordination with local organizations and planning bodies in the Russian Federation. Such a departmental approach drastically lowers the effectiveness of capital investments, hinders the implementation of a unified policy and creates irresponsibility concerning the ecological consequences of decision-making.

This situation must be changed. In our view, it would be expedient, starting with the 12th Five-Year Plan, to set up a procedure according to which capital investments for environmental protection appropriated for union ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics would constitute a separate item of the annual and long-range plans for economic and social development. It has also become necessary to develop a more reliable and effective environmental protection mechanism. In other words, it is important to establish the type of economic conditions for industrial enterprises in which the results of their economic activities would be dependent on their efforts to ensure the rational utilization of nature and the use of low-waste and wasteless technologies. We should also think of repairing the damage caused to the environment in the interest of the national economy, as a rule through the funds and forces of enterprises and organizations which have caused such damage.

Understandably, environmental protection efforts are effective only with the support and active cooperation of the broadest possible public. It is gratifying that today the All-Russian Environmental Protection Society numbers more than 37 million members. Almost 90,000 industrial, agricultural and other enterprises, organizations and establishments are collective members of the society. This is an important form of involving the masses in practical activities. The public of Voronezh, Lipetsk and Tambov oblasts has already

accomplished a great deal in building installations along small rivers and stabilizing and reforesting ravines and gullies. A valuable initiative aimed at improving the sanitary conditions of suburban forests and landscaping mass recreation areas was launched by Muscovites. Such projects enable us to make fuller use of the possibilities of the social organizations and to channel their activities into achieving specific practical results.

Environmental protection and sensible economic management are inseparable today. The country's economy is largely determined by the condition of its natural resources and the well-being of future generations by our present attitude toward said resources. Russia has great natural resources and, by intensively developing the production process, we have all the necessary possibilities of seeing to it that they are not diminished and that no conflict develop between the requirements of technical progress and environmental protection.

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## **ASSOCIATE OF THE GREAT LENIN**

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[Article by Dr of Historical Sciences P. Rodionov, first deputy director, CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Article written on the occasion of the centennial of Ya. M. Sverdlov's birth]

[Text] Yakov Mikhaylovich Sverdlov, one of the most outstanding leaders of the Bolshevik Party in the first state of workers and peasants in the world, and closest associate of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, holds an outstanding position in the brilliant galaxy of professional revolutionaries, who totally dedicated themselves to the liberation of the working class and the socialist renovation of life, with their entire strength and zeal. Like many other revolutionaries of his generation, fate granted him a very short life--less than 34 years. However, these were bright and beautiful years in which many truly great accomplishments for the sake of the happiness of the working people were compressed!

Yakov Sverdlov was born on 23 May (4 June) 1885 in Nizhny Novgorod (today Gorkiy) to the family of an engraver. Even as a youngster under 15 he became attracted to Marxist literature and, influenced by the revolutionary-minded workers of Nizhnyy and Sormov, made the firm decision to take the path of revolutionary struggle.

Sverdlov joined the RSDWP at age 16. At that time, the economic and political crisis in Russia was being increasing felt. A powerful wave of economic and political strikes and demonstrations rolled over the country. Sverdlov engaged in clandestine party work under circumstances in which the revolutionary Marxists, headed by Lenin, had undertaken the publication of ISKRA, the first all-Russian political newspaper, the main purpose of which was to eliminate organizational discoordination, disorder and confusion within the ranks of the Russian social democrats and to create a party of a new type, free of opportunism and capable of heading the struggle waged by the working class and all working people for liberation from political and economic oppression and for socialism.

Sverdlov read ISKRA attentively. He studied Lenin's works, including the book "What Is To Be Done?" and carried out important assignments for the Nizhnyy Novgorod RSDWP committee, which was supporting the ISKRA position and was

giving material assistance to the newspaper. Informed by N. K. Krupskaya of the holding of the Second Party Congress, the committee passed a special resolution approving its decisions, and called upon anyone sincerely dedicated to the cause of the revolutionary social democrats to observe the bylaws of the organization, as drafted by the congress, and to rally around its leading bodies. Sverdlov was among those who supported the bolshevik-Leninist position firmly, decisively and irreversibly.

Yakov Mikhaylovich honed and sharpened all of his outstanding natural characteristics, his exceptional organizing talent above all, in the course of a long and stubborn revolutionary struggle, experiencing, like his other comrades, the hardships of clandestinity. It was precisely such a lengthy period of clandestine work that was characteristic of revolutionaries, such as Sverdlov. Actively participating in the struggle against tsarism under conditions of forced clandestinity, he invariably operated in close unity with the best among the workers. All of this turned him into an outstanding leader of the masses. "He was able to reach the position of leader in the First Socialist Soviet Republic, the position of the leader of the organizers and the broad proletarian masses only through this practical school and path," Lenin said ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, p 77).

Whatever assignments the party gave Sverdlov, he invariably proved himself a fearless revolutionary, zealous propagandist and talented organizer.

Working Ural, which became his second homeland, played a special role in Sverdlov's life. It was precisely here that his inordinate talent as an organizer revealed its new facets.

Yakov Mikhaylovich arrived in Yekaterinburg (now Sverdlovsk) for the first time at the end of September 1905, at the peak of the First Russian Revolution, as the representative or, in the terminology of the period, as the agent of the RSDWP Central Committee. Many envoys of the bolsheviks had gone to the Urals before him. However, as his friend, fellow worker and wife Klavdiya Timofeyevna Sverdlova (Novgorodtseva) later recalled, the people of the Urals, who were restrained in their praise, had never spoken so warmly about any one of their own as they had about Comrade Andrey (Sverdlov's conspiratorial name). Within a short time, according to her, he literally reorganized the entire work structure of the Yekaterinburg party organization.

Having gained the trust of the Urals bolsheviks, after only slightly more than 2 months Sverdlov assumed the leadership of the RSDWP committee. People were attracted to him as to a magnet. He was successful in everything and did everything thoroughly, daringly and decisively. Above all, according to eyewitnesses, he was able to direct the work of the local social democrats from the positions of the all-Russian struggle of the proletariat and the peasantry.

The combat task facing the Ural bolsheviks was to lead the workers to the organized class struggle and see to it that proletarian Urals become one of the leading centers in the headlong development of the revolution in the country. This required a strong and united organization. Yet, prior to Sverdlov's arrival in Yekaterinburg, the local social democrats had frequently

had major failures. They had no single leading center and frequently acted in an uncoordinated fashion. Many party organizations did not follow a clear political line. Occasionally, conciliatory moods toward mensheviks and even SR were manifested.

The lack of a real single center from which to head the entire movement was felt particularly strongly. The RSDWP Central Committee and Lenin assigned to Sverdlov the task of creating such a center and strengthening the Ural party organizations. By then he had proven himself a firm bolshevik and talented leader.

Yakov Mikhaylovich energetically undertook this project and soon achieved noticeable results in unifying and strengthening the Ural bolshevik organizations. He was helped in resolving this difficult problem not only by his previous practical experience in organizational work and knowledge of life but also by his knowledge of theory. "Life tests the books," he said, "and the books test life." Lenin's instructions and advice, which were included in the letters Krupskaya sent to the local RSDWP committees, he considered truly priceless. The bolsheviks changed tactics and reorganized their ranks in accordance with these instructions and the local situation. While the revolution was in a state of upsurge, open forms of struggle and legal opportunities were used extensively and successfully. The culminating point of this stage in the Urals was the December uprising at the Motovilikhinskiye Cannon Works, fiercely suppressed by the tsarist authorities. The revolution in the Urals subsequently declined, as it did in the rest of the country. Under those circumstances, Lenin set a new task: ensuring the maximally painless transition to clandestine work methods and preparing the masses for future revolutionary battles. The Ural social democratic organizations, whose actual center was the Yekaterinburg committee headed by Sverdlov, implemented this assignment successfully.

Soon afterwards, Sverdlov himself had to go to Perm by decision of the Yekaterinburg RSDWP committee, because of the imminent danger of the detection of Yakov Mikhaylovich by the police, which had mobilized its informers to find him. Sverdlov actively undertook to rebuild the party organizations and to organize their work, as well as to promote the unification of all Ural bolsheviks. The February 1906 Yekaterinburg Conference marked the completion of the organizational unification of bolshevik organizations in the Urals. It played an important role in strengthening the unity of Ural bolsheviks and in the implementation of their difficult and responsible assignments based on the decisions of the party and Lenin's instructions. It prepared them for the struggle under the exceptionally difficult conditions of the sinister reactionary period which followed the defeat of the revolution.

Eventually, in June 1906, the police sleuths were able to locate Sverdlov. He was arrested and, after a lengthy investigation, together with other comrades, in the autumn of 1907 he was sentenced to a 2-year jail term. In jail as well, however, despite the extremely harsh conditions, Sverdlov continued the struggle and persistently worked on his self-education. If the jailers, he said, can break the spirit of a revolutionary they win. The abstracts Sverdlov wrote on the works of Marx, Lenin, Plekhanov, Mehring, Paul Louis, Sidney and Beatrice Webb and Charles Gide prove that his spirit had not been

broken and that he had used his time in jail for theoretical preparations for the new battles for the triumph of the revolution. Getting hold of "Essays on Marxist Philosophy"--a collection of articles by Bogdanov, Bazarov, Lunacharskiy and others--he organized a discussion of the work among the bolsheviks serving their sentences in the same prison. Like other comrades, he saw in these articles efforts to spoil the ideas of the progressive workers. Subsequently, after reading Lenin's book "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," which the author had sent to bolshevik I. A. Teodorovich, who was in the same jail as Sverdlov, like other loyal Leninists, Yakov Mikhaylovich found in it, in the words of his contemporaries, an exhaustive answer to the most complex problems of philosophy and convincing arguments in debates against and exposure of the opponents of Marxism.

In November 1909, soon after Sverdlov's release from jail, the RSDWP Central Committee assigned him to the Moscow party organization to check on the situation there and take steps to organize its work. Prior to his arrival, a number of failures had taken place here and matters had been neglected. Displaying his typical energy and purposefulness, Sverdlov undertook to carry out his new assignment and within a short time accomplished a great deal to eliminate the shortcomings plaguing the activities of the Moscow okrug RSDWP committee and the oblast party buro. However, he was arrested once again on 13 December 1909.

By order of the minister of internal affairs, in March 1910 Sverdlov was exiled for 3 years to Narym Kray. A few months later, however, he was able to escape. The Central Committee gave him another important assignment: he became its representative to the Petersburg party organization. He was to assist the Peter bolsheviks to make full use of the new circumstances: the gradual upsurge of the starting labor movement for purposes of propaganda, agitation and organization of the masses for the future revolutionary battles.

However well Sverdlov had mastered conspiratorial work, the gendarme sleuths were able to trace and capture him this time as well. He spent several months in solitary at the Petersburg preliminary detention house; in May 1918 he was once again exiled to Narym and the Tomsk police superintendent was instructed to organize Sverdlov's "strictest possible supervision." Even without "strict supervision," inmates in Narym lived under horrifying conditions. The picture becomes even clearer if we take into consideration that one of the most remote and horrifying places--the Maksimkin Yar--which was feared even by hardened criminals, had been selected as Sverdlov's place of exile. In his letters to his wife, Yakov Mikhaylovich himself described the harshest possible conditions of exile. He particularly missed the lack of any regular mail. "...Things are difficult beyond description.... Well, do not worry," he ended his letter. "I shall survive and preserve my spirit and energy. I shall not waste my strength in fighting my mood, for I will be able to find a more practical use for it.

Indeed, even under such harsh conditions, Sverdlov was able to use his forces. Despite the opposition of his guards, he began to communicate with the local Ostyak population, particularly the young people. He soon established a relationship with them, actively engaged in educational work, participated in daily farming work and, although rightless himself, defended them. However,

such an active life was interrupted by illness. On 20 December 1911 he wrote to his wife, "Yesterday I felt so poorly that I would willingly have cried and moaned. I was unable to sleep and rallied my entire strength not to let go, to be in control of myself...."

One can only imagine how poorly he felt if such a thing could be written by a person such as Sverdlov, whose willpower and endurance had become legendary. Exiled bolsheviks came to his aid. Thanks to their persistent efforts, Sverdlov was transferred from Maksimkin Yar initially to Kolpashevo and then to Narym. He soon began to recover and once again plunged headlong into work, which included increasing contacts with bolsheviks who were free, and organizing the sending of information to exiles about events in the country and activities of the party and its Central Committee. Meanwhile, important events were occurring within the party. The most important and significant of them was the Sixth (Prague) All-Russian RSDWP Conference which, as we know, had the significance of a party congress. It revived the party and expelled from its ranks mensheviks-liquidationists, disorganizers and dissidents. A bolshevik Central Committee headed by Lenin was elected. After a while Sverdlov was coopted in it. By the end of 1912 he was made member of the Central Committee Russian Buro, which had been set up at the Prague conference to carry out the practical work in the country under the Central Committee's direct leadership. It was thus that Sverdlov's active and fruitful activities and tremendous organizational talent were given recognition by the party, Central Committee and Lenin who, although still not personally acquainted with Sverdlov, nevertheless was perfectly aware of everything related to him and valued him exceptionally highly.

In December 1912, after several unsuccessful escape attempts, finally Sverdlov was able to escape from Narym. He reached Petersburg and gradually established contacts with Peter bolsheviks, including A. Ye. Badayev, M. K. Muranov, G. I. Petrovskiy, F. N. Samoylov and N. R. Shagov, deputies to the Fourth State Duma, and, subsequently, with the party's Central Committee and with Lenin. As member of the Central Committee, he was given the important assignment of becoming one of the heads of PRAVDA and to help and direct the work of the bolshevik faction in the Duma. Lenin ascribed great importance to this assignment as seen from his answer to a letter by Sverdlov, dated February 1913: "Dear friend!... DEN (PRAVDA's conspiratorial title--the author) is the necessary organizational means of rallying and enhancing the movement. It is only through this means that we can have the necessary people and funds for what you point out. Things in Peter are poor mainly because DEN is poor and we are either unable to work or else the "editors" in Petersburg are hindering the use of DEN.... The entire situation will be resolved now as a result of the outcome of the struggle against the liquidationist in Peter: this is clear. In turn, this struggle can be resolved only with the proper organization of DEN" (op. cit., vol 48, pp 156-157). Vladimir Illich further suggested that PRAVDA's editorial board be strengthened and "taken in hand" with the help of reliable assistants. He expressed the confidence that Sverdlov was perfectly able to accomplish this. "With a proper organization of this matter, the entire work of the PK (Petersburg Committee--author) which is missing all opportunities to act, will pick up" (ibid., pp 157).

Sverdlov enthusiastically undertook to carry out Lenin's instructions. As Petrovskiy testifies, he quite quickly engaged in party work, helped the Duma faction, dealt with PRAVDA, worked at the Central Committee Buro and headed the Petersburg Committee. However, Sverdlov's exceptionally important and fruitful activities were interrupted: betrayed by the provocateur Malinovskiy, he was arrested once again. The protests of the social democratic faction in the Duma did not help. Several months later, by decision of the special conference, Sverdlov was sent to Turukhan Kray.

This time, his exile was long, for it was virtually impossible to escape from these remote and wild areas cut off from the rest of the world and, furthermore, watched by an increased number of guards as ordered by the secret police. Despite inhuman difficulties, however, Yakov Mikhaylovich dedicated his entire strength, knowledge and organizational talents to revolutionary and propaganda work among the exiles and the local population.

Sverdlov used even the slightest opportunities to establish ties with the outside world, including the Duma deputies. He continued to study the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and personally engaged in theoretical and literary activities. The topics of the articles he wrote at that time were quite relevant to the period of World War I and at the time when social democratic parties, including those of the petite bourgeoisie, had taken the path of social chauvinism. Such were, for example, the articles "Split in the German Social Democratic Movement," "The Failure of Capitalism," and "War and Siberia," the titles of which speak for themselves. Sverdlov's range of interests was quite broad. His works discussed problems of Siberian economics and development possibilities, party construction and the international worker movement.

Notified of the Zimmerwald Conference of Internationalists, Sverdlov drafted and delivered to his comrades a cycle of lectures on the history of the Second International and the tasks involved in the creation of the new International. It was on the basis of these lectures that, while still in Turukhansk, he prepared for publication his "Essays on the History of the International Workers Movement," which were to become the base for a definitive work. However, this was prevented by the stormy events which followed soon afterwards.

The February bourgeois democratic revolution broke out in Russia and, together with the other bolsheviks, Sverdlov was set free. On his way to Petrograd he acquired information sufficient to give him an idea of the exceptional peculiarity of the situation which had developed in the country as a result of the twin power. However, even noted party leaders and Central Committee members could not predict the further development of the revolution, the position to take toward the provisional government and the way to withdraw from the war. The answers were given by Lenin in his "Letters From Afar" and, after his return to Russia, his famous "April Theses" which armed the party with a program for action for a conversion from a bourgeois democratic to a socialist revolution and the creation of a Soviet republic.

After a short stay in Petrograd, on 3 April Sverdlov went to the Urals to help the Ural bolsheviks find their place in resolving the new combat problems.

The oblast organization had to be rebuilt within the shortest possible time and its activities organized. The Ural Oblast party conference, the first to be held legally, which took place on 14-15 April in Yekaterinburg, contributed to the solution of this problem. It was quickly yet thoroughly prepared. This time as well, Sverdlov chaired the conference. He submitted reports and participated in the debates on the most important items on the agenda. He was unanimously elected member of the oblast party committee and delegate to the 7th All-Russian RSDWP(b) Conference. The next day Yakov Mikhaylovich was on his way to Petrograd.

Sverdlov met Lenin 2 days before the opening of the April conference. He had long dreamed of this meeting and had even tried, unfortunately without success, to hasten the advent of such a happy occasion. At the conference, Yakov Mikhaylovich, who had been elected member of the Presidium alongside Vladimir Ilich, was exceptionally active and persistent in demanding the implementation of Lenin's line.

At the April conference Sverdlov was made member of the Central Committee and after it, and to the end of his life, headed the Central Committee Secretariat. According to fellow workers, Yakov Mikhaylovich was kept extremely busy. He was able to see visitors, local as well as from the outside, to edit and draft the most important documents, to issue instructions to the personnel of the small apparatus of the Secretariat and actively to participate in all matters, big and small, which he followed up with immediate and firm decisions.

In addition to heading the Central Committee Secretariat, Sverdlov carried out a number of quite important assignments issued by the Central Committee and Lenin personally. This included the organizational strengthening of factory-plant committees which had been set up soon after the February Revolution, active participation in the activities of the bolshevik military organization and, after Lenin's forced clandestinity, keeping in constant touch with Vladimir Ilich, guiding the activities of the military organization, alongside F. E. Dzerzhinskiy, work with the peasant landsmen associations and municipal authorities and deliver numerous addresses at plants, factories and military units.

Preparations for and holding of the 6th RSDWP(b) Congress and the October armed uprising played a particular role in Sverdlov's life as in the life of the entire party. The organizational bureau in charge of convening the congress, which he headed, did everything possible for the congress to be held at the appointed time, despite tremendous difficulties and obstacles. These efforts were crowned with success: as planned, the 6th Party Congress opened on 26 July 1917. Its work, as all preparation for it, were guided by Lenin. Sverdlov submitted to the congress the Central Committee's organizational report. Under the new conditions, after the twin power had ended subsequent to opening fire at the July demonstration and the power had been fully assumed by the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie, guided by Lenin's instructions, the congress directed the party to armed uprising. At the congress, Sverdlov was reelected Central Committee member; at the Central Committee plenum he was elected member of the restricted Central Committee membership.

Yakov Mikhaylovich assumed the major and difficult job of preparations for and mounting an armed uprising. Together with Dzerzhinskiy, he headed the important conference of the Military Organization with representatives of regiments in Petrogram and its surroundings, at which measures to defeat the Kornilov mutiny were formulated. Sverdlov actively participated in the activities of the Petrograd Soviet. He headed its bolshevik faction and firmly supported Lenin's viewpoint on the need for making immediate practical preparations for an armed uprising. He chaired the historical Central Committee sessions of 10 (23) and 16 (29) October at which, at Lenin's suggestion and despite the opposition of Kamenev and Zinovev, the decision to mount an armed uprising was made. Together with Vladimir Ilich and the other Central Committee members, who were firm supporters of Lenin's position, Sverdlov sharply criticized the capitulationists. He was made member of the Military Revolutionary Committee and Military Revolutionary Center in charge of the uprising, recently created by the Central Committee. On the morning of 25 October, several hours prior to the historical session of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, at which, under the thunder of ovations, Lenin proclaimed the victory of the Socialist Revolution, Sverdlov chaired a meeting of the bolshevik faction at the Second Congress of Soviets.

The most outstanding pages in Sverdlov's biography were written during that short period of time in which, while working at the Central Committee, he also headed the supreme body of state power of the Soviet republic, which was created as a result of the victory of the Great October Revolution. "After Soviet power had been attained," Ye. Yaroslavskiy wrote, "it had to be organized and a chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the First Soviet State had to be found. The choice fell on Ya. M. Sverdlov. He combined not only total loyalty to the revolution, a tremendous organizational talent, the powerful speech of the agitator-propagandist and enthusiastic faith in socialism and communism, but also an inflexible and totally unquestioned authority and firmness, something which was particularly needed by us at the start.... He has left us no records of his work. However, this work has been recorded in all of the first steps taken by the Soviet state." Yemelyan Yaroslavskiy did not know that Sverdlov had nevertheless left notes in his famous notebooks or work booklets, which contained copies (for control and supervision of execution) of documents of his business correspondence as party Central Committee secretary and chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) with different establishments and individuals, from 30 August 1918 to 27 February 1919, on problems of party, soviet and military work. Eight such notebooks, which contain more than 700 documents, are preserved at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism Central Party Archives.

It was Vladimir Il'ich who nominated Sverdlov to the highest governmental position. Yakov Mikhaylovich justified the high confidence of the leader of the revolution as well as that of the party and the people. During that difficult period of establishment of the socialist state he became, as Lenin described him, the organizer of the entire soviet system in Russia and, because of his knowledge, the exclusive organizer of party work (see op. cit., vol 38, p 78).

In noting Sverdlov's outstanding role in cadre organization, selection and placement, Lenin said that this can be accomplished "only if entire groups of people are promoted to each of the major sectors personally headed by Comrade Sverdlov, people who, in his steps, would be able to come closer to what a single person had been able to accomplish" (*ibid.*, p 79).

Naturally, this is not to say that Sverdlov did everything himself. Better than anyone else he was able to attract people, to position them precisely in places where, based on their qualities--political, practical and purely human--they could be most useful and interested, who could be infected by his inexhaustible optimism and could be helped when necessary. If some of them failed, Yakov Mikhaylovich always had the courage to acknowledge that not everything had been fully considered when such a person had been appointed to a position. The error was corrected promptly and the person was placed in a sector which he could manage. Yakov Mikhaylovich was absolutely intolerant of those who, once promoted to leading positions, displayed arrogance and boastfulness, ignored the needs of the masses and even abused their position. He mercilessly replaced them either personally or with the help of the proper collegium. They were sent to basic work or, in the words of Sverdlov himself, "to learn from the working class."

Sverdlov paid great attention to cadre training. In 1918, a school for agitators and instructors was opened on his initiative at the VTSIK, the curriculum of which he drafted personally. In July 1919 the school was reorganized into the Communist University imeni Ya. M. Sverdlov ("Sverdlovka") which, for a long time, remained a forge for party and soviet cadres.

In addition to the proper selection, placement and training of cadres, observing Lenin's instructions, Sverdlov also ascribed prime importance to control of execution, to the prompt and full implementation of any party decision or order. He was intolerant of even the slightest manifestation of lack of discipline and disparity between words and actions and between decision and execution.

To this day, the selection of people and verification of execution are objects of tireless party and Central Committee concern. As the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized, the Leninist principles of cadre selection, placement and upbringing must be observed most strictly, for wherever such principles are violated and personnel are promoted on the basis of personal loyalty, subservience and favoritism, criticism and self-criticism are invariably suppressed, ties with the masses are weakened and, as a result, there are failures in the work. The plenum also pointed out the need to make stricter demands of all party members concerning their attitude toward public duty, implementation of party decisions and upholding the honest and pure appearance of the party member. A communist is rated according to his actions. No other criterion exists or could exist.

Sverdlov always considered cadre work organically related to the question of ties with the masses. He personally maintained permanent and very close ties with the working people. Like Vladimir Ilich Lenin, Yakov Mikhaylovich made use even of the slightest opportunity to meet with workers and make speeches at plants, factories and military units. Regardless of difficulties, he found

time to travel. Between January and February 1919, shortly before his death, he managed to visit the Ukraine, Belorussia and Latvia. In Riga he addressed the First All-Latvian Congress of Soviets; in Minsk, the session of the CP(b) of Belorussia Central Committee Buro and the First Congress of Soviets of the Republic; in Kharkov he spoke at the Third Congress CP(b) of the Ukraine and the Third All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets. Along the way from Kharkov to Moscow he stopped in Belgorod, Kursk, Orel, Tula and Serpukhovo, where he met with party and soviet personnel, asked about the situation and advised how better to organize the work; although ill, in Orel he addressed a large meeting of railroad workers.

Ya. M. Sverdlov always demanded of all soviet bodies and their personnel to be closer to the masses. It is only thanks to the closest possible ties with the broad masses of workers and peasants, he said at the 1 April 1919 session of the VTsIK "that we shall be able implement all of our planned measures. It is only to the extent to which we are able to single out among the masses a sufficient number of active and conscientious workers, who can practically implement all planned measures, and to the extent to which we have cadres of such comrades, could we say that a project has been secured. However, in order to have such cadres trained for practical work and for managing the country, we must involve in our work, in the administration of the country, and in governmental work significantly broader strata than we have so far."

How very consistent this is with today's stipulations of the party and its Central Committee! The party demands of all of its units and cadres to make constant and extensive use of the various channels for contacts with the masses, to ensure publicity in the work and to pay attention to public opinion, critical remarks, statements and letters of working people, which the CPSU considers a visible manifestation of the interest shown by the Soviet people in the affairs of their government.

Sverdlov's activities as chairman of the VTsIK were an instructive example of the proper interrelationship between party and state bodies. He was invariably guided by Lenin's instructions to the effect that governmental and other bodies carry out their activities on the basis of the party's political directives, for without this the work cannot be conducted properly; however, in no case could or should the party take over from such bodies and assume administrative and executive functions. As testified by people who worked side by side with Yakov Mikhaylovich, he was able to find the type of relations between the party and the soviets which allowed the party leadership and the soviets a normal development and autonomy within the range of their assigned functions.

The drafting and adoption of the first RSFSR Constitution were related to Yakov Mikhaylovich Sverdlov. He headed the constitutional commission which was set up by the VTsIK on 1 April 1918. Its work was quite complex, not only because of the exceptional importance of the document which had to be adopted but also as a result of the obstructionist activities of the left-wing SR and bourgeois-oriented specialists within it. Proceeding on the basis of Lenin's instructions, together with the other members of the commission Sverdlov was able to defeat all attempts at including stipulations unacceptable in a fundamental law of a socialist state. The suggestions submitted by the VTsIK

commission, drafted on the basis of Lenin's instructions and with the most active participation of Sverdlov, were submitted as early as June 1918 to the RKP(b) Central Committee Commission headed by Lenin. On 10 July the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets adopted the first Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic. This was an important political event in the life of the young Soviet state. The Sverdlov file kept at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism Central Party Archive includes in shorthand his lecture "On the State Structure and Constitution," which was not published in its entirety because of the poorness of the notes. The lecture was delivered by Yakov Mikhaylovich at the VTsIK School for Agitators and Instructors.

Sverdlov participated most actively in the preparations for the First Comintern Congress. He maintained close ties with the Federation of Foreign Groups of the RKP(b), which was established in May 1918 and whose tasks included the unification of communists among the prisoners of war.

It would be impossible to list everything which this dedicated worker for the revolution was able to accomplish in various sectors and areas of party and state work. "As long as my heart beats, as long as blood flows in my veins," Yakov Mikhaylovich said, "I shall struggle." Indeed, Sverdlov's life, like the life of his great teacher, friend and mentor Lenin, and like the lives of all the members of this outstanding Leninist cohort, was spent in struggle, in endless struggle.

Ya. M. Sverdlov died on 16 March 1919. His death was a heavy loss to the party, the entire Soviet people and the international communist movement. It caused inexpressible pain to Vladimir Ilich Lenin, with whom Yakov Mikhaylovich had invariably stood in recent years, shoulder to shoulder, resolving the most difficult problems of the revolution and the creation and building of the new state of workers and peasants, unparalleled in history.

Sverdlov's death coincided with the opening of the 8th Party Congress, in the preparations for which he had invested a great deal of effort. In his speech at the opening of the congress, Lenin said that "...The first word at our congress must be dedicated to Comrade Yakov Mikhaylovich Sverdlov.... If for the entire party as a whole and the entire Soviet republic Yakov Mikhaylovich Sverdlov was the main organizer..., in terms of the party congress he was much more valuable and close.... Here his absence will affect the entire course of our work and the congress will feel his absence particularly acutely" (op. cit., vol 38, p 127).

Sverdlov's memory, Vladimir Ilich emphasized, will remain not only an internal symbol of the loyalty of a revolutionary to his cause and not only a model of combining practical sobriety and practical skill, ties with the masses and ability to guide them, but also a prerequisite of the fact that increasingly broader masses of the proletariat, guided by such examples, will go forth to the full victory of the universal communist revolution.

The live example set by outstanding people, such as Yakov Mikhaylovich Sverdlov inspires and will continue to inspire more than one generation of communists and all Soviet people. Their names are immortal, for the cause for which they did not spare their efforts and health, dedicating to it their

inordinate talent of leaders of the masses and organizers of the building of the new society, is immortal. This cause lives in the accomplishments of the party and the people who are achieving increasingly new successes in building communism.

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## RELIABLE SHIELD OF PEACE

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pp 67-76

[Article by Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, first deputy minister of defense, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact--capitalized passages published in italics in original]

[Text] The world socialist system is the leading revolutionary force of the contemporary period and a stable support for universal peace and the security of peoples. It is steadily growing and gaining strength, exerting an ever greater influence on the entire course of international development. This is particularly clearly expressed in the life and accomplishments of the community of fraternal socialist states, which is a model of new and historically unprecedented relations between countries, relations based on the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism, total equality of rights, comradely mutual assistance and collective cooperation in the name of social progress and the preservation of peace.

The strength of the socialist community lies in the unity and cohesion of all the states that form it. Faithful to the Leninist ideas of international solidarity, their communist and workers parties display a constant and untiring concern for the strengthening of interaction, for all possible development and for the deepening and perfecting of ties and cooperation between the fraternal countries in all spheres--political, economic, scientific-technological, ideological and military.

New and clear evidence of this was the meeting of the highest party and state figures of the Warsaw Pact member countries held in Warsaw on 26 April, in which delegations from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia participated, headed by the leaders of communist and workers parties and heads of state and government.

Conducted in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding, the meeting confirmed the unity of views of its participants on the key problems of European and world politics, and expressed the collective aspiration of the fraternal parties and countries to further increase their economic and defense might, strengthen their cohesion, increase their efforts in the interests of eliminating the threat of war, foil the dangerous designs

of imperialist reaction and broaden international cooperation. The signing of a protocol on the extension of the Warsaw Pact was an act of historical importance which is expected to promote the consolidation and security of the great achievements of the peoples of the countries in the community, ensure peaceful conditions for socialist and communist construction and implement the progressive and peaceful mission of socialism. The Warsaw Pact has been extended, M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed, "with the conviction that our alliance is vitally necessary to all its participants and necessary for the strengthening of peace and the security of peoples."

The creation of the Warsaw Pact, which is now 30 years old, was not dictated by some internal requirements inherent in socialism as a social system. It became necessary at that time entirely as a result of the sharp worsening of the international situation and the increase in the real military threat from the imperialist states and the aggressive NATO bloc they had formed.

The large positive shift in the world arena that occurred as a result of the rout of Hitler's fascism and Japanese militarism, the strengthening of the forces of socialism and democracy and the growth of the Soviet Union's authority and influence gave rise to rabid malice in the imperialist circles of the Western powers and primarily the United States and Britain. They were particularly frightened by the fact that the ideas of socialism were winning ever greater support in the broad strata of working people in the capitalist countries.

In these conditions, the imperialists of the United States, the largest capitalist state, which has come out of the war strengthened economically and militarily and which held a monopoly of nuclear weapons at that time, decided to assume the role of world policeman, of "savior" of the so-called "free world." In December 1945, President H. Truman openly stated in his message to Congress that the United States would assume the responsibility for "leading the world."

Simultaneously, ideas arose in the West of forming, on an anti-Soviet, anticommunist basis, a class alliance or bloc of capitalist states to develop the struggle against the USSR and other countries that had started along the road of building socialism. A concentrated expression of these "ideas" was W. Churchill's notorious Fulton speech (March 1946), in which he called for the English-speaking countries to combine efforts to "oppose communist expansionism" and proclaimed a "crusade" against socialism. In our time R. Reagan has gone considerably further. He has not confined himself to a call for an anticommunist campaign. His militarist plans and preparations threaten the whole of mankind.

In a direct betrayal of the obligation they assumed as allies in the war against fascist Germany, the United States and Britain set about knocking together a military-political bloc of capitalist states aimed directly at the Soviet Union, which had made the decisive contribution to the achievement of victory, losing over 20 million lives. A mere 4 years after the end of World War II, in April 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization--an aggressive alliance signed by 12 states at that time--was formed in Washington. Later

Greece and Turkey joined. In October 1954, at a conference of nine Western countries in Paris, a complex of agreements which envisaged the resurrection of the FRG's armed forces and the entry of that country into NATO was signed.

In this manner the NATO countries fastened West Germany to their military harness, which directly contradicted the spirit of Potsdam and even more deeply split Europe. Spain was the last to enter the ranks of NATO.

From the first days of its existence, the NATO bloc became an instrument for heating up the "cold war" and the arms race, for forcing the pace of militarist preparations, and for pursuing the policy "from a position of strength," which created a serious threat to the security of the European socialist states and indeed to universal peace.

In this manner life once again proved the correctness of one of the most important tenets of Marxism-Leninism, according to which the bourgeoisie will never willingly agree to concede power to the working people but will strive at any cost to strangle the revolution and destroy the people's revolutionary achievements. "The transfer from capitalism to communism is an entire historical epoch," V. I. Lenin wrote. "Until it ends, the exploiters will inevitably retain the hope of restoration and this HOPE will be transformed into ATTEMPTS at restoration" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch" [Complete Collected Works], vol 37, p 264]. Such attempts are made not only by the remnants of the overthrown exploitative classes within the country, but also from outside, by the efforts of international imperialism, striving to export counterrevolution.

This is why for peoples and countries that have begun building socialism to protect their achievements from the aggressive impulses of the front of imperialist states, "a close military and economic alliance is absolutely necessary," Lenin stressed, "for otherwise the capitalists...will suppress and strangle us one by one" (op. cit., vol 40, p 46).

It is natural that the exacerbation of international tension and the intensive military preparations by NATO states, as well as the resurrection of West German militarism, dictated the necessity of strengthening the defensive capabilities of the USSR and the then still young people's democratic regimes in the countries of Eastern Europe, which could not remain passive in the face of the increased danger from imperialism. Due to the acute aggravation of the international situation and the intensification of the threat of imperialist aggression, the USSR's bilateral treaties with the countries of people's democracy, which had been concluded earlier, no longer guaranteed their complete security. The need arose for an even closer political and military alliance between the USSR and the other states that had set out along the road of socialism.

It was then, 6 years after the formation of the aggressive NATO bloc, that the socialist countries of Europe were forced to form their own military-political defense alliance. On 14 May 1955 they signed the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, which entered history as the Warsaw Pact, and which expressed the will and aspiration of the fraternal peoples for cohesion and collective responsibility for ensuring the defense of the

achievements of socialism and preserving peace and international security. The formation of the Warsaw Pact was thus an objective requirement, a countermeasure to the schemes of the NATO bloc.

This act embodied the lofty spirit of proletarian solidarity and internationalism, which had earlier found expression on many occasions in the course of the struggle for independence of peoples of various countries, being one of the most important sources of their victory over the forces of imperialism and reaction. It is sufficient to recall the broad movement of international solidarity with Soviet Russia during the civil war and the foreign military intervention. In the ranks of the Red Army over 250,000 internationalist soldiers fought against the enemies of the revolution. The greatness of the proletarian solidarity in the period of the civil war in Spain in the years 1936 to 1939, where the first battles against fascism developed, will never fade. This proletarian solidarity was displayed particularly clearly in the years of the Great Patriotic War against Hitler's Germany. Fighters in the military formations and partisan detachments of Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia, the patriots of Bulgaria, Romania, Albania and Hungary and participants in the resistance movement of other countries of Europe fought selflessly against the fascist invaders.

Thanks to the assistance and support of the Soviet Union, the First Czechoslovak Infantry Battalion, from which the CSSR's own People's Army began; the First Polish Infantry Division "Tadeusz Kosciuszko," which laid the ground for the formation of the Polish Army; the First Romanian Volunteer Infantry Division "Tudor Vladimirescu;" the Hungarian Volunteer Regiment; and a number of other formations were formed and armed on Soviet territory in the war years. They all actively participated in a number of operations at the end of the Great Patriotic War, such as the Belorussian, Vistula-Oder, East Pomeranian, Berlin and Prague operations.

In the war years alone, two combined-arms armies, an army corps, a tank corps, 29 different divisions, 31 brigades and a large number of separate units and subunits, military academies, courses and training centers of the friendly armies were formed with the assistance of the Soviet Union in the war years. The total numbers of their personnel toward the end of the war exceeded 550,000 men. They were supplied with 16,500 guns and mortars, more than 1,000 tanks and self-propelled guns, over 2,300 aircraft and much other weaponry and military equipment.

It is important to note that the foreign military formations in the USSR did not fall within the composition of our army from a legal or organizational point of view, but were merely operationally subordinate to the corresponding command of Soviet troops for the period of combat operations at the front. They retained total independence in matters concerning their internal affairs.

The assistance and support of the Soviet Union gave many patriots of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and other countries the opportunity to become involved in the active armed struggle against fascism, and laid firm foundations for the indestructible combat friendship between the fraternal peoples and armies.

In contemporary conditions the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states are fulfilling tasks of exceptional importance. They reliably defend the inviolability of the borders and the territorial integrity of the countries of the socialist community, as well as the revolutionary achievements and constructive work of their peoples. With their combat might and invincible strength they constrain the aggressive aspirations of imperialism.

For many years now, Western propaganda, sparing neither strength nor resources, has been trying to slander and defame the Warsaw Pact's lofty purpose and its noble aims and ideals. Attempts to place the Warsaw Pact on a par with NATO and to suggest to world public opinion that there is no principled difference between them as two military blocs are also known. All possible inventions about some aggressive intentions of the Warsaw Pact, about its "military superiority" over the NATO bloc, about the "threat from the East," and so on are persistently disseminated in the West. It is not difficult to understand what guides the authors of such fabrications. All this fuss about the Warsaw Pact's "aggressiveness" is required by the ruling circles of the United States and the other NATO countries in order to confuse the broad popular masses and, accompanied by verbiage about the "Soviet military threat," to accelerate the arms race, to upset the approximate balance of armed forces existing between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and to achieve a decisive military superiority over the USSR and its allies.

However, political realities and the propagandist inventions of the ideologists of imperialism are not the same thing at all. Today all honest people recognize that the Warsaw Pact is a genuinely defensive organization and that its consistent and principled policy represents the stronghold of peace and security in Europe and one of the main factors of universal peace. The Warsaw Pact members do not threaten anyone, do not interfere in the other states' internal affairs and do not lay claim to foreign territory. They have never unleashed a single military conflict, never acted the part of aggressor and never conducted predatory wars, for that is foreign to the very nature of socialism and its highly humane ideals.

The Warsaw Pact differs fundamentally from the military alliances of the imperialist states first and foremost by the principles which lie at the basis of its participants' mutual relations. The main principle is the total equality of member states, close multilateral cooperation, the harmonious combination of common international tasks with the national interests of the allied countries, respect for territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty and no interference in each other's internal affairs.

The indestructibility of the Warsaw Pact defense organization is determined primarily by the fact that it has firm sociopolitical, economic, ideological and military-strategic foundations. Its sociopolitical foundation is provided by the uniformity of the participant countries' social and state system, in which private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of many by man have been liquidated. Their peoples have been convinced through their own experience of the advantages of socialism over capitalism.

Guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the communist and workers parties of the states of the socialist community conduct a coordinated policy in the international arena. This does not at all mean that the national interests of individual countries and peoples are ignored, because the consistent struggle for peace, social progress and socialism, and the reliable defense of socialism meets the hopes of all peoples. The community of fundamental interests and goals of the fraternal countries engenders a united will to build socialism together and to defend it together.

The economic foundation of the Warsaw Pact is provided by socialist social ownership of the means of production, which on an international level serves as the material basis for the establishment of realities of mutual trust, friendship and mutual understanding between the socialist countries. For this reason it is natural that all the countries of the Warsaw Pact are members of CEMA and are implementing a program of socialist economic integration, which is augmenting the forces of socialism and creating optimal conditions for making use of the advantages of the international division of labor, for wide-scale specialization of, and cooperation between, the production processes which determine contemporary scientific/technological progress and for evening out the levels of economic and cultural development of the socialist countries. The advantages of the socialist economic system as well as the principles and methods of economic cooperation make it possible to collectively increase the defense capability of our alliance and to implement the coordinated military-technical policy.

The ideological foundation of the unity of the Warsaw Pact countries is Marxism-Leninism. The most important source of its all-conquering strength is the fact that proletarian internationalism and class solidarity lie at the very heart of Marxist-Leninist teaching. Assimilation of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism helps the national detachments of working people to become aware of the importance of class cohesion and of irreconcilability to any manifestations of nationalism.

The combat alliance of the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries and their armies has a united military-strategic foundation. It consists in the community of goals and interests of the collective defense of the achievements of socialism and in a coordinated military doctrine that is of a clearly expressed defensive nature, a fact that was irrefutably confirmed by, in particular, the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons assumed by the Soviet Union and by many other actions.

All 30 years of the Warsaw Pact organization's existence have been years of untiring struggle against the danger of war, for peace and of mutually advantageous cooperation between different states based on equal rights. It is difficult even to imagine how tragic the fate of mankind would have been had our military-political defense alliance not stood in the way of the aggressive aspirations of imperialism. Whatever aspect of international relations we look at, the Warsaw Pact members have always acted and continue to act consistently for the consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, for the strengthening of European security, for the curbing of the arms race and for the improvement of the international political climate.

The highest political organ of the Warsaw Pact organization--the Political Consultative Committee--carries out exceptionally fruitful work in this area. At its conference, decisions on the most important international problems are elaborated, major foreign policy initiatives are advanced and questions connected with the strengthening of the allied countries' defense capabilities and with the fulfillment of their obligations to the joint defense are discussed. The participation in sessions of the Political Consultative Committee of the highest party and state workers of the Warsaw Pact countries gives an exceptionally great political weight to the decisions made and greatly increases their international authority.

The Committee of Foreign Ministers of participant states of the Warsaw Pact, founded in 1976, has become an important link in the mechanism of the cooperation in and coordination of the foreign policy actions of countries of the socialist community in international affairs, in the interests of peace and security, detente and disarmament.

Thanks largely to the persistent and coordinated actions of the USSR and the other participant states of the Warsaw Pact, it has been possible to achieve perceptible positive shifts in world affairs in the 1970s, the political and territorial realities formed in Europe after World War II have been confirmed, and the process of the relaxation of tension initiated. The Warsaw Pact states were the initiators of the convocation of the international conference devoted to questions of security and cooperation on the European continent, which was held in Helsinki in 1975.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance and topicality of the initiatives recently proposed in the Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact participant states (5 January 1983), in the joint statement of the Moscow Meeting of Party and State Leaders of the Socialist Countries (28 June 1983), and in the declaration of the Summit Economic Conference of CEMA member countries "The Preservation of Peace and International Economic Cooperation" (14 June 1984), all of which were aimed at creating conditions for serious and businesslike negotiations on the limitation and reduction of arms on the basis of parity and equal security of the sides and also for the improvement of the international political climate.

The fraternal socialist countries' proposals for the liberation of Europe from chemical weapons, the nonincrease and reduction of military expenditure and especially the conclusion of the treaty on nonuse of force and maintaining relations of peace, which they directed at the NATO states, all remain in force.

The Warsaw Pact countries have been and continue to be faithful to the cause of continuing and deepening the all-European process of detente, strengthening security and developing cooperation in Europe on the basis defined by the Helsinki Final Act. They advocate a constructive course for this work and the achievement of important agreements at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe and also the quickest conclusion of agreements at the Vienna negotiations on the mutual reduction of armed forces and arms in central Europe. They also support the efforts being

made to create nuclear-free zones in the Balkans, in the north of Europe and in other regions of the continent.

For its part, the Soviet Union is doing everything in its power to ensure progress at the Geneva negotiations with the United States and, to be specific, has proposed that for the entire period of the negotiations a mutual moratorium be established on the creation, testing and deployment of space weapons and also on the buildup of strategic offensive weapons.

The USSR's decision to introduce a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range missiles and to halt the implementation of other countermeasures in Europe until November of this year, which was set out by M. S Gorbachev, has received wide approval. Naturally, the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Western Europe would have to stop at the same time.

However, the peaceful initiatives of the Warsaw Pact countries have not as yet met with a positive response from the United States and NATO. Hiding behind the totally false myth, which they themselves have fabricated, of the "Soviet military threat," the imperialist circles are persistently continuing along the risky road of militarist preparations and are nurturing criminal plans for unleashing new wars. Obsessed with ideas of a "crusade" against socialism, they have decided to upset the military-strategic parity which has arisen and to achieve military superiority over the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries in order to conduct policy "from a position of strength" by using nuclear blackmail.

To this end, in the United States an arms race (primarily nuclear) of unprecedented scale is being developed, stocks of weapons of mass destruction are being accumulated, and qualitatively new types of weapons are being created.

Washington has developed plans to militarize outer space and has set about implementing them. The United States' West European NATO allies are trying not to fall behind it. In these countries, which in any case are already well supplied with different types of weapons, intensive military preparations are going on, maneuvers and exercises are being conducted and the deployment of the new American first-strike nuclear missile weapons is continuing.

The leaders of the Warsaw Pact participant states have more than once stressed with all certainty that the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community are not striving to achieve military superiority, but will not permit such superiority over themselves. If the United States and NATO, contrary to common sense, continue their course toward achieving military-strategic superiority, the Warsaw Pact states will be left with no other alternative than to take further necessary measures to maintain their defense capability at the proper level. Any attempts by the NATO countries to secure for themselves a dominating position, to shake the security and sovereignty of the socialist states, or to dictate their will has met with and will continue to meet with a resolute rebuff.

The 30th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact coincides with the 40th anniversary of the rout of Hitler's fascism and the victory of the Soviet people in the Great

Patriotic War. This was a glorious victory for the sake of the triumph of peace and freedom, democracy and social progress. The lessons of the last war are of increasing importance in our time. "The main one," the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the 40th Anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War from 1941 to 1945" stresses, "consists of the fact that war must be fought against before it can start." Opportunities and forces are available for this at the present time. The aggressive circles of imperialism can today no longer avoid taking into consideration the growing weight and effort of these opportunities and forces, and the might of the Joint Armed Forces of the countries of the socialist community, led by the Soviet Union.

In the years of its existence, the military organization of the Warsaw Pact, including the Joint Armed Forces and the system of military command organs, have developed considerably. As a result of the efforts of the communist and workers parties and peoples of the fraternal countries, the composition, organization and structure of the armies and navies and the qualitative indexes of their technical supply and material-technical provision have changed substantially, and the level of operational and combat training of command personnel and troops has risen, which is seen most graphically in the fundamental changes in the allied armies' armed forces.

The development of the ground forces was ensured largely through the utilization of various new missile and artillery systems, contemporary tanks with powerful armaments, infantry fighting vehicles, armored personnel carriers, antitank guided weapons, antiaircraft missile complexes and many other models of military equipment and weapons designed for waging combat operations in case of enemy use of both conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction. The composition of the ground forces includes combat and transport helicopters.

Great transformations have been implemented in the allied countries' air defense troops. They have received qualitatively new antiaircraft missile equipment, supersonic high-altitude jet fighter aircraft, improved radar control and guidance means and systems, which ensure the destruction of air targets at low and high altitudes and in far and near approaches to the defended targets.

The air forces of the Warsaw Pact participant states are also being perfected. They have been and continue to be armed with new generation supersonic jet aircraft with powerful bomb, missile and cannon armaments and modern radar and special equipment. This has led to a considerable growth in the combat capabilities of the air formations and units. The depth of operation of aviation has markedly increased. In solving operational and strategic tasks, the air forces are capable of waging warfare for superiority in the air, of inflicting strikes on the enemy's groupings of missile and ground troops and on enemy naval targets, of carrying out landings of formations and units many hundreds of kilometers in the enemy's rear, of providing air support to the troops and naval forces and of covering them from the air.

The characteristic feature of the development of the navies has been to equip them with new classes and types of ships, primarily missile, antiship and

amphibious warfare ships. The arming of ships with the newest missile systems and air defense weapons has widened their capabilities of waging warfare against the enemy's naval forces and of assisting ground troops to conduct operations in coastal sectors. The navies' capabilities of carrying out naval landings have also sharply increased.

Each allied country assigns well-trained contingents of its troops to the Joint Armed Forces. Their numbers and composition and also their organization and provision with weapons and equipment are determined by the government of each state, taking into account the recommendations of the Political Consultative Committee, the Committee of Defense Ministers and Joint Armed Forces Command according to the economic and military capabilities of each Warsaw Pact participant country.

At the same time, the troops and naval forces assigned to the Joint Armed Forces remain subordinate to the national ministers of defense, who are fully responsible to their countries for the state, equipment, military readiness and military and political training of the troops and naval forces. This attests to the total sovereignty of each Warsaw Pact participant state and to the practical implementation of the principle of the quality of each allied country within the Warsaw Pact.

The Joint Armed Forces have personnel who are well-trained, skillful masters of modern equipment and devoted to the ideas of socialism. Party and youth organizations are the cementing force of the military collectives.

The armed forces of the Soviet Union form the basis of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact participant states. The position they occupy is conditioned by the fact that as they represent the mightiest socialist power, the armed forces of the USSR are, because of their military-technological potential, rich combat experience, ideological-political maturity and moral-combat qualities and training of personnel, the determining and guiding force in the fraternal alliance of the armies of the socialist states.

The system of organization of the Warsaw Pact is constantly being perfected. On this level, a prominent role is occupied by the decisions of conferences of the Political Consultative Committee, which have outlined the roads of further development of its leadership structure. In particular, the Committee of Defense Ministers, the Joint Command, the Military Council, the General Staff, the Technical Committee and other organs have been formed and their functions and rights have been precisely defined.

For 30 years now the armies of the Warsaw Pact countries have been in a united formation, have provided each other with constant assistance in all spheres of their life and activity and have exchanged their experience of combat training and political-educational work and also their achievements in military science and engineering. At the present time military-technical cooperation of a multilateral and planned nature has acquired particular importance. Its basis is formed by the mighty military-economic and scientific potential of the fraternal countries and by the possibility of making use of all the advantages of close specialization and cooperation in defense production and in raising the level of standardization of many types of weapons and military equipment.

Questions of the operational and combat training of troops and staffs are constantly at the center of attention of the joint and national armed forces commands. A special place is occupied here by joint exercises, in which the training and combat readiness of units and formations of the allied armies, of all services of the armed forces, and of all arms are tested, the coordination and cooperation of staffs and troops are mastered by practice and the most effective methods of conducting combat operations by groupings are investigated.

Joint exercises of staffs and troops such as "Alliance," "Shield," "Brotherhood in Arms," "Friendship," and a number of others, which have been conducted in recent years under the leadership of the joint and national commands, attest to the increase in coordination of the operations of staffs and other command organs and to the professional training of generals, admirals and officers. These exercises have promoted further strengthening of the combat community and the development in the soldiers of feelings of internationalism and combat comradeship and have confirmed once again that the Joint Armed Forces can successfully solve complex tasks of the defense of the revolutionary achievements of the peoples of the fraternal countries.

The Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states represent a powerful defensive military organization of the socialist type. They are invincible because they are based on the enormous economic capabilities of socialism, on the advantages of its political and state system, and on a scientific, Marxist-Leninist world outlook, enjoy the boundless support and love of the peoples of the allied countries and are at a high level of combat.

The years of the Warsaw Pact's existence serve as convincing proof of the far-sightedness of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the governments of the fraternal countries who once made the decision to form it. Concluded in order to counterbalance the aggressive NATO bloc, the Warsaw Pact became the reliable defender of the peaceful constructive work and the historical achievements of the peoples of the states of the socialist community. Our countries have more than once expressed their readiness to dissolve their alliance, if at the same time NATO ceases to exist, and have proposed as a first step the liquidation of the military organizations of both groupings, starting with a mutual reduction in military activity. These proposals still remain in force today.

But unfortunately there has been and is no such intention in the ruling circles of NATO. On the contrary, new aggressive doctrines are being developed and the buildup of both nuclear and conventional weapons is being urged on there. Revanchist elements are becoming more active and calls are heard for a revision of the territorial and political realities that have emerged in Europe, as well as for a renunciation of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements.

In the present complex international situation, the unanimous decision of the fraternal socialist countries to extend the Warsaw Pact has been dictated by the necessity of ensuring by collective efforts their defense capabilities and security and their close cooperation in international affairs.

The Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states are peaceful countries. Their armed forces, combined under the Warsaw Pact, have never threatened and do not threaten anyone. By strengthening their combat might, they represent a firm shield of socialism, an insurmountable obstacle in the path of the adventures and aggressive designs of international imperialism and an effective instrument of preserving peace.

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## FORTY YEARS OF FREEDOM, FORTY YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR A NEW LIFE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 85 (signed to press 23 May 85) pp 77-84

[Article by Vasil Biliak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CPCZ Central Committee secretary]

[Text] Forty years have passed since the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism. This is a short period in the history of mankind. Yet, what great historical changes have taken place during that time, how many exploits have been accomplished and, on the other hand, how many new crimes have been committed by imperialism!

The generation which fought fascism and witnessed the breakdown of colonial domination and the appearance of the world socialist system is still alive. Still living are the mothers who lost sons, widows who lost their husbands and millions of people who lost their parents in childhood. All of this constantly reminds us of World War II, which left a most cruel mark in the history of mankind.

Even 40 years later, the result of the fascist rule and crimes is so terrible that it is difficult to assess. Numerous documents exist proving that fascism intended to destroy the small nations and weaken the large ones, which it tried to dominate, and to deprive of their cultural heritage to such an extent as to make their further development impossible for many years. Had fascism not been defeated, England, France and Italy, as well as all of contemporary Europe would not have existed in their present aspect. Bourgeois historiography deliberately conceals and misrepresents this circumstance, and it is the duty of all honest people to prevent the truth from remaining hidden. It is particularly necessary for the young generation in the capitalist countries, misled by false information, to find out the real reasons, course and outcome of World War II.

The decisive contribution of the Soviet Union to the defeat of fascism also contributed to the fact that the war did not end as the most reactionary circles hoped it would. It is no secret, for example, that Churchill dreamed of witnessing at the end of the war "the destruction of Germany and Russia." The usual saying is that, how lucky we were that no such thing happened. This was not a matter of luck, however, but of the heroic and selfless struggle waged by the Soviet people and the organizing role of the CPSU which

predetermined the outcome of the war. The victory of goodness over evil was a manifestation of historical justice. It was the victory of the newly born social system: socialism.

The peoples of the world, of Europe above all, considered with full justification the defeat of fascism as true liberation and the triumph of light over darkness. Everyone was convinced that mankind had become so wise that no one would ever be allowed to threaten the world and prepare the waging of new wars. However, it was only fascism which was totally defeated and not in the least imperialism, the main source of wars and suffering of mankind.

The amount of suffering caused by the two world wars was different and so was the experience acquired by the peoples and countries during these wars. The experience of the peoples of Europe and the United States was different as well. Whereas Europe was devastated and ruined as a result of the two world wars, the United States did not experience the true horrors of war time. To America a war represented a favorable economic situation, markets and more jobs. This had a substantial influence on American mentality and attitude toward wars. This is also the root of the differences in the approach to the current threat of outbreak of a third world war. No single representative of bourgeois Europe can afford the type of irresponsible and cynical threats of waging war on other peoples as the representatives of the most reactionary U.S. circles. Under their influence cynicism has penetrated diplomacy, trade and culture and affected the broadest possible range of international relations and relations among people. The lessons of the anti-Hitlerite coalition have become somewhat forgotten and values have been reassessed: truth began to be passed for lie and lie for truth.

The hopes which relied on the alliance born of the anti-Hitlerite coalition were not justified. It is true that the Soviet Union made great efforts to continue the policy of alliance. This, however, was not part of the plans of the most reactionary forces of imperialism, which were striving for world domination.

The imperialist forces were unwilling to accept above all the fact that the defeat of fascism had energized the tormented and ignored masses of many European countries, who mobilized their forces for the reorganization of the world on a new and just basis. In the same way that the flames of revolution sprung from the suffering of millions of people in World War I, melting off the chains of imperialism and hastening the appearance of the first socialist state in the world--the Soviet Union--the desire of the peoples enslaved by fascism to lead a free and happy life predetermined the appearance of the socialist community. Those who claim that bolshevism enslaved Eastern Europe and countries elsewhere in the world lie shamelessly.

Many crocodile tears were shed by the imperialists on the subject of the loss of Czechoslovakia which, allegedly, had "fallen in the sphere of Soviet influence." However, it was independently, on its own free will that the Czechoslovak people chose their way. Czechoslovakia was one of the first victims of fascist aggression. After the betrayal of its allies, the Czechoslovak people was ready to die even for a bourgeois republic, for it considered fascism the greater evil. The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie rejected

the aid of the Soviet Union, which was ready to block the path of fascism and take up the defense of the bourgeois Czechoslovak republic. The bourgeoisie and its foreign allies had no concern for the fate of the country, governed as they were by their class interests. Benes himself notes in his memoirs that Newton, the British ambassador in Prague, said in the summer of 1938 that "the question of whether Czechoslovakia would be restored in its former shape should a successful war be waged on Germany remains open."

Our people never accepted the fascist occupation. It created a broad resistance front in which the working class, headed by the CPCZ, played a decisive role. Of all political forces which took part in the national liberation struggle in Czechoslovakia, the communist party alone had a clear long-range program. The resistance movement reproduced in miniature what happened to the anti-Hitlerite coalition. Like international imperialism, the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie set itself goals different from those of the working people. Our people were able to draw conclusions from the treason of their own bourgeoisie and its foreign allies, for which reason they did not allow the restoration of the old order after the war.

Optimistic beliefs that the war had taught every one a lesson gained the upper hand in our country after the liberation. It was somewhat forgotten that many members of the bourgeoisie had hidden themselves behind patriotic slogans for the sole reason of protecting their interests rather than contributing to the creation of a new republic with a just system at home and an orientation toward friendship with the Soviet Union in foreign policy. Within a short time our people matured politically and exposed the true plans of domestic reaction, for which reason the counterrevolutionary putsch of February 1948 had no chance of succeeding.

Czechoslovakia's most recent history, which began with the country's liberation by the Soviet army in May 1945, is marked above all by the dedicated work of our people for the sake of the socialist blossoming of the homeland. The results which we have achieved over the past 40 years make us legitimately proud. Suffice it to recall the condition of the national economy in the immediate aftermath of the war. The damage caused to the country totaled almost 400 billion korunas. During the war years the German monopolies had plundered our economy. The fascists had turned into ashes the eastern parts of the republic and, during the final days of the war, the air force of the Western allies had bombed most important enterprises, such as the Skoda works in Pilsen, CZDK in Prague, Zlin and other centers, although by then they were no longer actually contributing to German arms manufacturing. Under the slogan "Shock Labor for the Good of the Republic--Such Is Our Agitation!" the CPCZ led the people to constructive toil. By 1948 the per capita national income was 13 percent higher than during the prewar 1937.

The program for building socialism was announced at the 9th CPCZ Congress. It called for socialist industrialization, the development of industry in Slovakia, the socialist reorganization of the countryside by converting from small- to large-scale production of agricultural commodities on the basis of state farms and cooperatives, the development of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the people's democracies and an entire series of tasks in the area of cultural policy. The great changes which were made in our country in the

course of the successful implementation of the general line of laying the foundations of socialism in Czechoslovakia were codified in the new socialist constitution of July 1960.

The successes achieved during that time contributed to the development of an atmosphere of placidity and false illusions concerning the conflict-free development of a socialist society in Czechoslovakia. The excessive and unrealistic goals which had been announced during the first half of the 1960s, subjectivism and errors in the party's practical policies and the ideological and organizational weakening of the CPCZ blended, in the final account into the familiar 1968-1969 crisis. The counterrevolution had been preparing for it on a long-term planned basis. A minor hitch sufficed for the domestic and foreign enemy to mount without delay an onslaught against the very foundations for socialism. The complete destruction of the socialist political system in the country was prevented thanks to the international assistance provided by the fraternal socialist states, and the consistent restoration of the communist party's leading role in building a socialist society began with the election of the new party leadership, headed by Comrade Gustav Husak. The successful process of economic and political consolidation soon afterwards created the prerequisites for formulating a line of building a developed socialist society in the CZSSR, which was announced at the May 1971 14th CPCZ Congress.

Significant changes have taken place in the CZSSR in the 40 years since its liberation. Compared with 1948, industrial production increased by a factor of nearly 13, including 28 in Slovakia; agricultural output doubled and the volume of foreign trade increased by a factor of 22, including 54 with the Soviet Union. The steady growth of output made it possible to increase the national income by a factor of 6.5, on the basis of which we were able significantly to improve living standards, making it comparable to the level reached by the most advanced countries in the world. Today as well, despite increasingly worsening domestic and, above all, external conditions under which the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress are being implemented, as a whole we are able to achieve qualitative improvements in the way of life and to strengthen the social guarantees given to our citizens.

The path covered in 40 years was not easy. Our internal and external class enemies have hindered us always and everywhere. We have had to surmount a variety of blunders, illusions and tragic errors. We know today that it is impossible for a single generation to implement the type of changes which require an entire historical epoch. We realized from personal experience that merely defeating capitalism, assuming power and laying powerful material foundations under socialism are not enough. The creation of a new socialist system also means raising the new socialist person, the conscious patriot and internationalist, the true master, who is creating his own way of life, copying or imitating no one. This cannot be accomplished exclusively through laws and administrative measures, although they are mandatory. The solution of this problem requires conscientiousness, convictions and infinite dedication to the socialist cause or, in simpler terms, a turn in our consciousness and a change within ourselves.

Every good manager assesses the results of his work from time to time. Our people are good managers and are also summing up results on the occasion of a noteworthy occasion, the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland. No other 40-year period can compare with the last 40 years in terms of results. A look at the past should be a lesson and an incentive for us to set ourselves even more daring tasks. At the same time, we must define all that hinders us and eliminate negative phenomena. For example, we realize that we are still not waging the struggle against bureaucratism, routine, a variety of petit bourgeois vestiges, parasitism and lack of discipline with sufficient resolve. We are aware of our shortcomings and are far from yielding to complacency. To yield to placidity would mean to stagnate and, in the final account, to abandon the revolutionary path. That which was good yesterday no longer suffices today and is a crossed stage tomorrow.

At all times there have been people satisfied with accomplishments and not reluctant to turn others as well away from revolutionary resolve and the struggle for perfecting the new social system. These are people who have become lazy, who do not burden themselves with the concern to upgrade national economic efficiency, perfect mass political work, enhance the party's leading role and broaden socialist democracy. They are satisfied with what already is or, if dissatisfied with something they are willing to follow the various prescriptions offered to us by bourgeois politics, economic and propaganda.

The honest people ask themselves, why is it that when technological development was at an incomparably lower level than it is today and when skilled cadres were in short supply we were able so rapidly to rebuild the national economy and build and start up plants, whereas now, with developed technology and experienced specialist cadres at our disposal, we frequently fail. Obviously, this is the result of weakened exigency, discipline and responsibility to our own party.

We realize that it is by no means sufficient merely to note the fact that the CZSSR is a developed socialist country with a modern national economy, high educational and good living standards and other social guarantees. All of this, however, does not mean that we can do nothing. On the basis of a thorough analysis of our own development and the current status of the economy and an objective comparison between our accomplishments and world standards, we must counter the danger of falling behind. It is also our duty to assist in the development of the world revolutionary process, for which reason we pay great attention to our national economy. Although not low, its efficiency must be increased considerably.

In the first place, we must substantially reduce the volume of production resources used per unit of growth of national income. This means that we must put an end to high material and power intensiveness of output, make more efficient use of productive capital, systematically maintain the balance between the domestic and foreign market and ensure the comprehensive intensification of our development. The harnessing of internal resources and reserves in the 1980s-1990s assumes decisive importance to us, for the pace of our progress will entirely depend on achieved economy. We have no reasons for falling behind in the growth of labor productivity. The only way to achieve such growth is through scientific and technical progress, improving the system

of planned management and intensifying cooperation and economic integration with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA members.

Increasing the pace of scientific and technical development is the main prerequisite for the solution of specific economic problems. With a better use of our domestic scientific and technical base and by linking it more closely with the potential of other members of the socialist community, we want not only to ensure the necessary growth rates of output but also the necessary quality, technological modernization, efficient adaptation of the economy to internal and external conditions and, not least, environmental protection.

As we intensify socialist economic integration, with the USSR above all, in the long range we would like to stabilize our development and strengthen the independence of our economy from the capitalist world and its upheavals. That is why we welcome the "Program for Long-Term Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation for the Period Through the Year 2000" we adopted jointly with the Soviet Union, timed to the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. At the same time, we intend to expand our cooperation in a number of areas with the nonsocialist countries on the basis of mutual advantage and equality.

The building of socialism, pursued on a planned and organized basis, excludes uncontrolled development. Therefore, perfecting the management and planning mechanism is of prime importance. We intend to improve it by significantly developing both aspects of democratic centralism and, above all, systematically implementing the principle of wages based on the work of collectives and individual workers. Many managers do not observe this principle in order to avoid conflicts. They are contributing to the spreading of equalization, which has become widespread in our country. Equalization leads to nothing but passiveness and idleness, and discredits the socialist distribution principle of to each according to his labor. The tolerance of dependency means unfairness to society, for we cannot equally reward parasites along with industrious and conscientious people.

Concern for the person and his all-round progress and possibility of working, relaxing and having good living conditions remains the main target of the strategy of Czechoslovak development. This is the purpose of upgrading the standard and quality of life of the population. This demands of us not only the proper increase and qualitative improvement of the structure of individual and public consumption but also the better satisfaction of the sensible requirements of the various age and social groups, the strengthening of the principle of distribution according to labor and providing more favorable conditions for youth training and job placement and growth and realization of their creative labor opportunities. In this connection, perfecting socialist democracy and all realms of the ideological superstructure assumes decisive importance. In the final account, it is the degree of its development which determines the level of socialist consciousness and of the individual in socialist society.

World peace is one of the most important prerequisites for the successful course of socialist construction. The historical victory over fascism

radically changed the entire system of international relations. The ratio of forces between capitalism and socialism changed. Socialism proved definitively its viability, unbreakable inner and moral and political strength and seized the historical initiative. It would like to prove its advantages in peaceful coexistence rather than on the battlefield.

Imperialism is unwilling to accept the new realities and is not abandoning its attempts to destroy us by force. In order to weaken socialism and hinder its development it is resorting to means such as cold and psychological warfare, subversion, discrimination and various types of trade and industrial blockade. With every passing day we can see that the most extremist imperialist circles are making preparations for a new war and will spare nothing for the sake of attaining their objectives. The cynicism of the politics and adventuristic military plans of such circles prove the hopelessness of their situation and their weakness and merely confirms the familiar fact that capitalism no longer has any future.

The military-industrial complex in the United States and the other NATO countries is steadily fanning a military psychosis in order to be able to develop their military industry at unregulated speed. Unsatisfied with an unparalleled arms race on land, at sea and in the air, they would like to move it to outer space. The militarization of outer space would be the riskiest step and most dangerous adventure which could trigger a chain reaction which could take the world to a situation in which the sky will turn into hell and the earth become a universal grave. The spreading of lies about some kind of defense umbrella in space increases the adventuristic aspects of American military and foreign policy.

The ruling U. S. circles are hoping to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union in order to be able to act "from a position of strength" and dictate its will to every one and not to the socialist community alone. This is an exceptionally serious threat not only to socialism but also to all democratic and progressive forces in the world and to the very existence of mankind.

Under those circumstances, the socialist countries are doing everything possible to prevent the sliding of mankind into the precipice of a new nuclear war. It is precisely the community of socialist countries which continues to formulate ever broader peace initiatives, the purpose of which is to prevent the threat of war, halt the senseless arms race, initiate a serious dialogue among countries with different social systems and broaden peaceful international cooperation. This is not a symptom of our weakness. The socialist community, headed by the Soviet Union, has a powerful economic and military potential and is the main obstacle on the path of aggressive imperialist intentions.

The Warsaw Pact, the 30th anniversary of which we celebrated recently, is making its steady contribution to the preservation of peace. This alliance reliably ensures the protection of socialist gains and properly serves the interests of international security. Throughout its existence it has acted as the collective initiator of new peace proposals. The pact is consistent with the interests of safeguarding peace and strengthening the unity and power of

our community. It is precisely the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries that are a thorn in the flesh of imperialism and the target of its ceaseless attacks and intrigues. In order to drive a wedge in relations among the individual socialist countries and promote mistrust among them the class enemy is trying to instill his views on us.

In our view, the policy of differentiation pursued toward us by the governments of some Western countries presents a special threat. Western ideological centers are hastily fabricating various "models of socialism." They condemn some and praise others, depending on the extent to which this helps them in their threatening game. We, in Czechoslovakia, have already come across such efforts and gained our own experience, the conclusions of which were summed up in the document "Lessons From the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress," which was adopted 15 years ago. This is a document of historical significance, which contains a scientific analysis of the main reasons and various interrelationships which triggered the 1968-1969 Czechoslovak crisis and remains an inexhaustible source of true information about the intentions, objectives and methods of the counterrevolution.

A global psychological warfare has been mounted against socialism and the other forces of progress and peace, the tone of which is set by the White House. Ideological aggression and psychological warfare have been elevated to the rank of official state policy by the United States and its allies. The anticommunist "crusade" is constantly being filled with a specific political, economic and military content.

Contemporary imperialism has brought the entire system of manufacturing of disinformation, lies and stupidest possible fabrications about socialism to a state of perfection. Czechoslovakia is a favorite target for the frenzied attacks and slanders of bourgeois propaganda for the fact alone that it systematically pursues a Marxist-Leninist line in building socialism, is oriented toward a firm alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and is always concerned with intensifying the unity, cohesion and all-round cooperation with the socialist countries. Our people scornfully reject all bourgeois fabrications and are confidently following their chosen path.

The steady growth of the country's economic power and general development enable us to be active in the international arena and thus to contribute to upgrading the aggressiveness and effectiveness of the coordinated peaceful policy of the socialist community. The orientation toward firm friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union increases the strength of our state and ensures the most favorable conditions for the constructive toil of the people and the successful progress in building developed socialism. This is a guarantee of our independence and security.

Today, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, we would like to say that we consider exceptionally important for every one on earth to draw proper conclusions from World War II, and for its results to be acknowledged as irreversible reality. Its main results include the Yalta and Potsdam agreements of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. We consider the various attacks on these agreements an attempt at harming the effective cooperation

among countries with different social systems and at undermining the peaceful development of Europe. We have faith that the millions of sacrificed human lives and the horrors and suffering of World War II will never be forgotten and will serve to the future generations as well as an appeal not to permit the earth to be flooded once again with innocent blood. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will loyally and consistently implement the behests of the antifascist struggle and will spare neither forces nor means to ensure the triumph of the cause of peace, progress and socialism.

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## FACTS AND LESSONS OF HISTORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 85 (signed to press 23 May 85) pp 85-93

[Article by Kurt Heger, SED Central Committee Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary]

[Text] More than 4 decades have passed since the cause of the victory over Hitlerite fascism ended with the unconditional surrender of the Nazi Wehrmacht and the end of the bloodiest and cruelest of all wars. The Soviet people and their great armed forces deserve the main credit for uprooting the fascist plague. It was they who bore on their shoulders the main burden of the struggle. Together with the Soviet Union, its allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition and the participants in the resistance movement in the enslaved European countries won their victory and achieved the long-awaited peace.

The victory over Hitlerite fascism brought to the German people as well freedom from the Nazi yoke and enabled them to take the path of antifascist, democratic and socialist development. While antifascist democratic changes were taking place and the foundations of socialism were being laid on the territory of what is today the GDR, in the Western occupation zones the liberation from fascism was not accompanied by a basic reorganization of social relations. Conversely, imperialist rule was preserved. As a result of the complex international and national class confrontation, two sovereign German states, independent of one another, appeared: the socialist German Democratic Republic and the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany.

By decision of the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers, the GDR is celebrating the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and the liberation of the German people as an official holiday. With their labor activeness in the socialist competition and numerous social actions, the GDR citizens are honoring the memory of the great Soviet army and all fighters against fascism. Through their work and actions they are proving their loyalty to peace and socialism, friendship with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and international reciprocal understanding and humaneness.

It is in the same spirit that the 40th anniversary of the victory is celebrated by the progressive, democratic and antifascist forces in the FRG. The conservative circles and revanchist forces are trying to belittle and

distort the significance of this universal-historical event. They describe 8 May 1945 as the "day of the defeat of Germany," and the greatest catastrophe in European history. H. Heisler, the CDU secretary general, even went so far as to say that 8 May is no occasion to celebrate "the victory of communist socialism over fascism," and that it would have been better if "both had vanished from world history at that time."

These statements clearly reflect the gravity of the political and ideological struggle which developed on the occasion of the anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism. Blinded by hatred, the defenders of anti-Sovietism and anticomunism are unwilling to acknowledge that the victory of the Soviet Union over fascism was no accident but a legitimate result of the development and manifestation of social progress and the superiority of socialism over imperialism. They have converted the FRG into a launching pad for American nuclear missiles and are preparing to participate in Reagan's planned "Star Wars." They are attacking the Yalta and Potsdam accords and are aspiring for a revision of the results of World War II and for the restoration of "Germany within its 1937 borders." Nevertheless, historical truth cannot be concealed, however hard conservative and revanchist politicians and ideologues are trying to do this.

Let us recall, in this connection, some historical facts and lessons of the war waged against Hitlerite fascism.

On 22 June 1941, when Hitlerite Germany treacherously attacked the Soviet Union, its rulers had ignored the shameful defeat suffered by imperialism, which had answered the Great October Socialist Revolution with military intervention, diplomatic blockade and economic boycott. The bankruptcy of the innumerable reactionary prophets who were predicting the quick end of the Soviet system had not prevented the Nazi leadership and Wehrmacht general staff from formulating the Barbarossa plan, the purpose of which was to ensure the defeat of the Soviet Union within 6 to 8 weeks. The plan contemplated the use of the advantage of striking a sudden first blow, the fact that the fascist military machine was working at full speed, and that Hitlerite Germany disposed, in addition to its own, of the significant economic potential of its allies and the occupied countries.

The Nazi leadership hoped that the myth of the "invincibility" of the German army, strengthened by the fast victory over France and other countries, would have a paralyzing effect on the Soviet people. The arrogant view that the Soviet Union was, allegedly, "a giant with feet of clay," and that, weakened as it was by national and other contradictions, it could easily and quickly be brought down with an energetic strike from the outside, blinded the Nazi leadership and deprived it of a sober look at reality.

During the initial period of the war, the Soviet Union, suddenly dragged out of a peaceful constructive toil in building a socialist society, suffered major failures. Soon afterwards, however, Hitler's "blitzkrieg" revealed its total groundlessness. On 5 December 1941 the Red Army mounted a counteroffensive at Moscow and inflicted a major defeat on the Nazi army. It was thus that the legend of its "invincibility" was destroyed once and for all.

In the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people, the fascist Supreme Command which, as Marshal G. K. Zhukov said, had seriously underestimated the possibilities of the Red Army and obviously overestimated the possibilities of its own forces, faced the harsh fact, heretofore considered impossible, that in the USSR the front and the rear could blend into a single powerful force which could achieve superiority over the enemy step by step. Its components were the high military skill of the Soviet command, the striking power of the Red Army, the broadening partisan movement, the steadily increasing output, the labor efforts of workers, kolkhoz members and scientists and the inspiring impact of the militant works of artists and writers, imbued with optimism.

The fascist leadership of Germany, which had established and consolidated the terrorist domination of its own people, made a most impudent covert effort to implement the plans for expansion in the East, which had been formulated by the most reactionary, chauvinistic and adventuristic elements within German monopoly capital. Fascist ideology blended together the extreme nationalistic-chauvinistic, racist, irrational, mystical and sociodemagogic "theories."

The Nazi leadership was relying on militant anticomunism and anti-Sovietism. Year after year it had hammered into the heads of the Germans, the young people above all, that they embodied a race of "supermen," called upon to rule other nations and that they had the right to acquire lebensraum in the East, i.e., to appropriate the grain of the Ukraine, the petroleum of Baku and the entire wealth of the land of the soviets. From the very start, the road of the German armies was paralleled by plunder and destruction, dislocation and most cruel coercion of the Soviet people. Fascist propaganda, antihumanistic and anti-Soviet persecution, Wilhelm Pieck noted at the 7th Comintern Congress, led a culturally highly developed country into spiritual darkness, turning it into a "hotbed of barbarism and war."

The socialist social system and political organization of the USSR and the consciousness and morality of the Soviet people waging a war on fascism were subjected to the harshest possible trial. The Soviet people withstood it and came out the winner.

The fascists had never been able to understand something which, clearly, their present followers fail to understand as well: that the Great October Socialist Revolution had brought about profound changes in the life and consciousness of the people. Under the Soviet system, millions of people became politically aware and understood that the building of a new socialist society was to be their own creation. The ideological firmness, profound patriotism and proletarian internationalism and moral and political unity of the people rallied around the communist party, mass heroism at the front, the rear and the temporarily occupied territories proved the obvious superiority of socialism and its ideology over the system and ideology of German imperialism. The truthfulness of Marxism-Leninism and the falseness of anticomunism and anti-Sovietism were proved in the flames of the war. The words of V. I. Lenin were entirely confirmed: "A people, the majority of whom are workers and peasants, have learned, felt and seen that they are defending their own Soviet

system, the power of the working people, will never be defeated...." ("Poln. Sibr. Soch. [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, p 315).

With the prewar policy of the Western countries in mind, the German fascists were hoping to isolate the Soviet Union in the international arena and to organize against it a joint imperialist crusade. Here as well, however, they erred. The anti-Hitlerite coalition was created as a result of the threat to a number of capitalist states presented by Hitlerite fascism, the increasing pressure which their peoples exerted on their governments and the tempestuous development of the resistance movement in the occupied countries. The members of the coalition included the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, France, China and other countries--all in all, more than 50. This was a coalition of very heterogeneous forces with different aspirations.

The anti-Hitlerite coalition was a phenomenon of universal historical significance. It acted as an effective force in the struggle against the fascist military bloc. It became clear that countries with different social systems, despite all that divided them, could interact for the sake of peace and the salvation of mankind.

The SED Central Committee, State Council, Council of Ministers and National Council of the National Front of the GDR appeal "On the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Victory Over Hitlerite Fascism and the Liberation of the German People" states: "It was in the course of the struggle against the Nazi clique that a unique front for its time of peoples and countries, different social and political circles and resistance and liberation forces was formed."

The Communist Party of Germany promptly pointed out the danger threatening the German people and peace presented by German imperialism. It tried with all its forces to prevent the victory of fascism. Ernst Thalmann farsightedly cautioned that "anyone who votes for Hindenburg votes for Hitler. Whoever votes for Hitler votes for war!" It was only the struggle of the broad toiling masses which could have blocked the path of fascism at that time. That is why the CPG worked for the unification of all antifascist forces in the struggle against the fascist menace, Nazi terror and the ideology of racism and "supermen."

After German imperialism had established a fascist dictatorship, Ernst Thalmann and Georgi Dimitrov became symbols of firmness and the will to resist. Tens of thousands of communists and antifascists followed their example. Communists, social democrats, trade unionists, believers, pacifists, bourgeois democrats, patriotic officers, young people, women, people of different outlooks and social affiliation, fought in the ranks of the resistance. In fighting the fierce terror and inhumanity of the Nazi regime they were defending humanism. In acting against racism and hatred of other nations they defended the ideas of internationalism, reciprocal understanding and peace. In condemning fascist barbarism, they defended the progressive and humanistic values of German culture.

In deep clandestinity, in jails and concentration camps, in the international brigades in Spain and in exile they struggled for the defeat of the criminal military plans of fascism and for Hitler's overthrow. After the fascist

attacks on Western Europe and the Soviet Union, the purpose of all their actions became to defeat the Hitlerite regime. Ernst Thalmann's prediction that "Stalin will break Hitler's neck" expressed the inflexible faith of the German communists and many antifascists of the inevitable victory of the socialist Soviet Union.

The German antifascists participated in the armed struggle against Hitlerism in the ranks of the resistance and the guerrilla movement on occupied territory. The "Free Germany National Committee" and the "German Officers' Alliance," which had been set up in the USSR in 1943, worked actively. The "Free Germany" movement was the result of long years of persistent CPG efforts and its policy of a broad alliance and unification of all antifascists, democrats and opponents of war. This movement developed in the USSR, clandestinely in Germany, in exile and in the occupied countries. Its participants fought in the ranks of the Red Army. They were partisans and scouts behind enemy lines. They fought side by side with the French resistance, the Greek movement for national liberation and the Yugoslav People's Liberation Army. In Poland, the Netherlands, Denmark and Norway they supported the people's struggle against the occupation.

After the victory and the liberation of the people, the most important question in Germany was what kind of life to have in the future. The answer was provided by the CPG Central Committee in its 11 June 1945 appeal, which indicated the path to building a new life and a new Germany. It stated: "Let us not repeat the errors of 1918!... No leniency for Nazism and reaction! Never allow in the future persecution and hostility toward the Soviet Union!..." No war should ever break out from German soil! the communist party appealed.

In strict accordance with the Potsdam agreement, German imperialism and militarism were uprooted from the territory of today's GDR, deprived, above all, of their economic foundations. The first steps along this way were the land and school reforms which were made as early as 1945. The enterprises of the active Nazis and war criminals were confiscated without compensation in 1946 and democratic administration and security bodies and an antifascist justice system were created.

Successful progress with persistent efforts and profound social changes became possible thanks to the revolutionary unity of the working class, which was achieved in 1946, and the creation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Under its leadership, a firm alliance of antifascist and democratic forces was created, which included in its ranks those who had lost any hope of a better future at the end of the war. The bloc of democratic parties and mass organizations and the National Front are important factors in GDR political life to this day.

In the course of the unified revolutionary process of antifascist and democratic changes and socialist construction, the SED purposefully mobilizes and organizes the working people in the country for the solution of basic social problems in accordance with the characteristics of the individual development stages.

This development was not easy. It took place under conditions of a continuing frontal confrontation with the forces of imperialism and their revanchist policy in the FRG. They made use and are still using all possibilities, based on geographic proximity and a common language, to hinder the building of a new society in the GDR. Our country directly confronts the strongest imperialist state in Europe. That is why the political, economic and ideological stability of the GDR is of great importance in the further strengthening of socialism and safeguarding peace.

At its 8th Congress, in 1971, the SED formulated the specific features of a developed socialist society in the GDR. It drafted the concept of such a society in close cooperation with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. Since that time, the SED has concentrated its leading activities on further refining and, above all, gradually implementing this concept in the GDR. The party program, which was adopted at the 9th SED Congress in 1976, contains the following basic thought: "The building of a developed socialist society is a historical process of profound political, economic, social, spiritual and cultural changes."

The economy is of exceptional importance in this connection. The GDR national economy is distinguished by its steady growth, which ensures the steady enhancement of the material and cultural living standards of the people and the reliable protection of socialist gains. Thus, estimates show that in the first quarter of 1985, despite extremely harsh winter conditions, compared with the same period in 1984, the national income increased by 4 percent. Industrial production increased by 4.3 percent. Agriculture overfulfilled the plan for state procurements of animal husbandry products. This is a worthy accomplishment of the GDR working people in honor of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and the liberation of the German people. It is also a new step toward successful preparations for the 11th SED Congress, which will be held in April 1986.

The SED is firmly following a course of unified economic and social policy, manifested above all in the implementation of the housing construction program. More than 6 million citizens have received new or modernized apartments since 1971. One million apartments will be built by 1990. It is thus that the question of housing, as a social problem, will be resolved by 1990.

Unity of economic and social policy has become a decisive motive force in GDR development. The steady enhancement of the labor activeness of the working people as a means of steadily improving life and which, in turn, stimulates the growth of labor productivity, is the main idea of SED social policy at the current stage in building a developed socialist society.

Of late, in terms of basic indicators, the GDR national economy has been developing at an accelerated pace. This is the result of two important factors.

First. At the present stage the implementation of the party's economic strategy, adopted at the 10th SED Congress in 1981, directs us toward increasing production intensification and ensuring its further expansion on

the basis of technological reorganization and structural changes in the economic potential. The renovation of equipment and technology and the broad and fast utilization of new scientific and technical accomplishments will increasingly determine GDR economic progress. The main factor in increasing the national income in recently years has been the lowering of raw and other material outlays by 6 percent annually. It is on this basis that in the future as well the SED will promote unity between economic and social policy.

Secondly, comprehensive cooperation with the USSR and the other CEMA members is of decisive importance to the successful development of the GDR. From the very first day of our liberation we have received selfless aid and support from the Soviet Union. From the very beginning, through their words and actions, the internationalists in Red Army uniform helped the German communists and antifascists. Relations of close friendship and profound mutual confidence developed between the German and Soviet peoples in the course of such cooperation.

Today the GDR is a politically stable and dynamically developing socialist state in all areas of social life. It is a firm structural component of the socialist community. Its development in the course of the past 40 years has been one of loyal friendship and close cooperation with the USSR.

Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, has pointed out that "our party's experience proves that problems in our own country are resolved the better the more extensively and effectively we develop cooperation with the USSR and the other CEMA members in various areas of social life. We are resolving all vitally important problems in close interaction with Lenin's country."

This cooperation is based on firm agreements. The Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty, which our two countries signed in 1975, is of basic significance. Further interaction between the GDR and the USSR and the SED and the CPSU is determined by the common tasks of building and perfecting developed socialist society in all areas of social life. Science, technology and production are given priority. In these areas, which are of decisive significance in further strengthening the power of socialism and the confrontation with imperialism, we are jointly implementing plans of major importance. Based on the common strategy for accelerated public production intensification, coordinated at the 1984 summit economic conference of CEMA members, the GDR and the USSR are jointly resolving problems in the main areas of scientific and technical progress, as earmarked in the program for cooperation in the areas of science, technology and production through the year 2000. This benefits both countries and further strengthens the power of the socialist community.

The appeal in connection with the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism emphasizes with full justification that our entire life, work and struggle are related to the event of 8 May 1945. This sets strict requirements for us. "We are doing everything possible," the appeal reads, "so that in the course of the preparations for the 40th anniversary of the victory and liberation, in pursuing a course of preparations for the 11th SED Congress and in the course of the further building of developed socialist society, we may achieve great

successes in all areas. Conscientious toil, persistence and initiative are contributions to the well-being and happiness of the people, security and peace." The people of the GDR marked the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and their liberation in a state of close unity with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries who are aspiring for the preservation of peace achieved at such high cost with all their forces.

World War II left ineradicable marks in the memory of the people. The Soviet people made the heaviest sacrifices in that war--the lives of more than 20 million of their citizens. The blood account of the fascists is 50 million lives. We shall never forget the sacrifices which victory over fascism demanded; we shall never forget the heroism of many soldiers and officers, partisans and resistance fighters. Above all, however, we must not forget the lessons of World War II, which have now become so relevant.

Once again, a serious threat is hanging over the world. The most aggressive imperialist circles, the United States and NATO, are aspiring to achieve military superiority and to destroy socialism and the national liberation movements. Their policy of increasing nuclear armaments and confrontation is directed at achieving world domination. The plans for preparations for "Star Wars," concocted by the U.S. administration, increase the danger of destroying the entire world in the flames of a nuclear conflagration.

Ideological subversions are assigned a major role in the plans of the most aggressive imperialist circles. The arsenal of unrestrained anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda includes the claim, as though borrowed from Nazi propaganda, that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have fallen hopelessly behind economically, technologically and socially, that they are torn by internal contradictions and deprived of development prospects. The question is this: what is the purpose of this campaign? Is it not to justify the adventuristic plans of dealing a first strike at the Warsaw Pact members? Is it not a justification for the militarization of space and "Star Wars," as means of "lightning" elimination of socialism, slanderously described by Reagan as the "evil empire"? Is it not to instill the idea that one could come out the winner in a nuclear war?

Distorting the thinking and awareness of people with anticommunist propaganda may have dangerous consequences for the nations. For even without any particular knowledge of military affairs one can easily understand that a nuclear war cannot be won. Any imperialist aggressor could expect a crushing retaliation. Nuclear war, regardless of from where it is unleashed, from the earth or from outer space, will inevitably grow into a catastrophe which will threaten the destruction of all mankind.

That is why it is so important to recall again and again the lessons of World War II. The main lesson is that everything necessary should be done to safeguard peace--the first human right. There are forces on the planet which can put an end to the nuclear arms race and take steps to disarmament. They are more influential and broader than ever before. This is the base of our historical optimism in the struggle for peace.

The defeat of Hitlerite fascism--the crushing failure of the "blitzkrieg" plans, the legend of the "invincibility" of the Nazi army and its unconditional surrender--should serve as a serious warning to anyone who is inclined to make an erroneous and dangerous assessment of the ratio of forces between socialism and imperialism!

The most aggressive imperialist forces will never be able to attain military superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist community. The hopes that socialism is allegedly unable to ensure the dynamic development of science and technology needed to maintain military-strategic parity are totally illusory. The members of the socialist community have proved that they can successfully develop under difficult international conditions as well.

The Soviet Union has always been the main force in the universal struggle for peace. It has made a decisive contribution to attaining and maintaining a military-strategic balance, thus erecting a powerful barrier to the imperialist policy of threat and blackmail aimed at social progress. It is above all thanks to the industriousness and firmness of the Soviet people, the wise policy of its communist party and, not least, the powerful Soviet army that for the past 40 years a new world war has been prevented and peaceful life ensured in Europe.

The fraternal socialist states joined within the Warsaw Pact are united with all nations in their aspirations for a durable and secure peace. Today even the leading political personalities representing monopoly capital are showing a growing understanding of the fact that the course of nuclear armaments and confrontation can give imperialism neither military, nor economic or political advantages. Nor are capitalist profits possible under the conditions of a nuclear war. Today the increased stockpiling of armaments by imperialism is a source of profound crisis in capitalism. An end to the arms race and consistent disarmament would release huge material and financial resources and spiritual potential, which could be used to resolve the most urgent problems facing mankind, including the developing countries. This is favored today by a great variety of peaceloving forces.

Naturally, the establishment of a broad alliance among them and, through joint efforts, lifting the threat of war are no easy tasks. However, their implementation is not only necessary but possible. No differences in basic political or conceptual views should present an obstacle to pursuing a political dialogue and joint efforts for establishing a broad coalition of reason and realism for the sake of the survival of mankind itself. All opportunities should be used to this effect and the entire potential of our ideology and power of human intelligence harnessed.

We fully and entirely support the position of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, as presented by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, on the eve of the Geneva talks between the Soviet Union and the United States: "The only sensible solution to the existing situation is for the confronting forces to reach an agreement on the immediate cessation of the arms race, nuclear above all, on earth and its prevention in space. It should be an agreement reached on an honest and equal basis, with no efforts to "outperform" the other side and to dictate to it its conditions. It should be

an agreement which would help everyone advance toward the desired objective: the total elimination and banning of nuclear weapons forever and the total lifting of the threat of nuclear war.

The GDR government and people most firmly support the efficient program of struggle for the safeguard of peace, suggested by the Soviet Union, and are making their possible contribution to its implementation. The GDR welcomes the talks between the USSR and the United States in Geneva and wishes them success in the interest of universal peace and stability of international relations. It fully supports the constructive proposals made by the Soviet Union, presented by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev: proclaiming by the USSR and the United States a moratorium for the entire duration of the Geneva talks, which would include scientific research, testing and development of offensive armaments, an end to the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe and a corresponding increase of the Soviet response. With its unilateral moratorium on the deployment of medium-range missiles through November of this year and termination of other responsive measures in Europe, the Soviet Union is setting an example which, in the interests of holding constructive talks, should be emulated by the United States as well.

Located at the demarcation line between socialism and imperialism in Europe, and as a member of the military and political organization of the socialist countries, the GDR is making its contribution to the defense of socialism. It is actively participating in the implementation of a coordinated foreign policy with the socialist countries and, in particular, in developing a dialogue with the leading representatives of the imperialist countries, in the interests of peace.

In our relations with the FRG we are guided by the principle of "doing everything possible for war never again to originate on German soil." It is only the principles of peaceful coexistence and the conclusion of a treaty that could lay foundations of relations between socialist and capitalist countries, including those between the GDR and the FRG.

Revanchist aspirations to revise the results of World War II and postwar developments are clearly futureless. The GDR is worthily rebuffing expatiations on the subject of having a "German Reich in its 1937 borders."

The defense of peace in Europe, for which so much blood was shed in the struggle against Hitlerite fascism, demands the recognition, security and inviolability of boundaries on this continent.

The SED is well aware of the fact that, together with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, it bears great responsibility in the struggle to safeguard peace. Our actions and thoughts are in keeping with the main lessons of the

victory over Hitlerite fascism, which, to this day, remain as urgent and topical: socialism proved its superiority in a fierce struggle against imperialism, and those who threaten peace on earth must and can be restrained by the nations.

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## NATIONWIDE PEACE MOVEMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 85 (signed to press 23 May 85) pp 94-103

[Article by O. Kharkhardin, first deputy chairman, Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace]

[Text] In our nuclear century the fate of the peoples of all continents, the very existence of civilization and the future of Planet Earth are becoming increasingly linked to the outcome of the struggle waged by all peace-loving forces of our time for the safeguard of peace and against the threat of a nuclear missile war. More than anything else in the long history of mankind, the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe has become the common cause of many hundreds of millions of people of the East, West, North and South--people holding different and sometimes quite dissimilar ideological and political views and religious convictions but united in their understanding of the need to safeguard man's greatest right: the right to life.

The Soviet peace movement is an intrinsic, active and truly effective part of the worldwide antiwar movement of the broadest possible social circles.

This truly mass, truly nationwide movement has existed and been active in our country in its present form for more than 35 years. It was brought to life not by virtue of any kind of development of circumstances or someone's "cunning" will, as Western imperialist propagandists are vainly claiming, as they keep consoling themselves with the illusory hope that they will be able to draw an unbreachable line between the organizations of the fighters for peace in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, on the one hand, and similar mass movements in the capitalist countries, on the other. No, as an indispensable participant in the global contemporary antiwar movement from its very start, fully sharing its ideals and objectives, the peace movement in the USSR is also, by virtue of its origins and nature, the creation of the very nature of our society born of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

For the first time in centuries, the victory of the Great October turned the problems of war and peace into an object of the historical creativity of the masses. On the basis of the fact that the will of millions of people could become a reliable obstacle to new imperialist wars, V. I. Lenin called for "helping the people intervene in problems of war and peace" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 16). The aspiration to rely on

the activeness of the masses and to raise them to the struggle for peace has been and remains the foundation of the foreign policy of the Soviet state, based on its class nature. The very first state act of the young Soviet system, in which the age-old dream of mankind of a world free from wars and armaments was embodied in the scientifically substantiated words, understood by millions of people, of Lenin's Decree on Peace, essentially contained the practical program and ideological foundation for the consolidation of peace-loving forces and the development of a nationwide peace movement.

With its decisive contribution to the defeat of Nazi Germany and militaristic Japan in World War II, the Soviet Union proved most convincingly to the entire world that it was precisely the socialist country which was the guarantor of democracy and progress and the bearer of the high moral and political values of mankind. The peoples were able to see with their own eyes that in the battle against fascist barbarism and the strongest possible military machine created by the militaristic forces, the USSR relied not only on its defense might but also the unsurpassed courage, firmness and moral and political unity of the entire people. The will and resolve of the Soviet people to crush the strike forces of global reaction, represented by Hitlerite Germany and its allies, became the source of moral strength for the fighters against fascism the world over. Therefore, as early as during World War II, the live ties linking the Soviet people with millions of people of good will in other countries were manifested, ties which developed and strengthened in the postwar period on the basis of the worldwide struggle for disarmament and the preservation and consolidation of peace.

## I

From the first Paris-Prague 1949 World Peace Congress to this day, the Soviet public has considered participation in international measures and mass world peace campaigns its own vital project. The following figures illustrate best of all the involvement of our people with this movement: The first Stockholm appeal to ban the atom bomb, with which the movement began its activities in 1950, was signed by more than 115 million Soviet citizens. The collection of signatures under the antiwar appeals and other mass measures which took place in subsequent years in the USSR were also nationwide in nature. Thus, 185 million signatures were collected during the all-union campaign for signing the second Stockholm appeal (1976) to end the arms race and for disarmament.

In August 1949, the First All-Union Peace Conference elected a Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace to coordinate the activities of the Soviet peace fighters and promote cooperation between the Soviet public and the peace-loving public abroad. The appearance of such an organization in the sociopolitical structure of Soviet society, an organization which would represent the nationwide peace movement which had become widespread from its very start, was dictated by life itself. This offered the broad Soviet social circles new opportunities for participation in the shaping and implementation of the foreign policy course of the Soviet state. The peace movement in our country and its elective bodies, central and local, became one more trend in the education of the masses in a spirit of active support of the cause of peace and international solidarity with the fighters against class and national oppression.

In assessing the place and significance of the peace movement in the life of Soviet society and its important characteristics, we must bear in mind the absence in our country of any kind of classes, social strata or groups among which a confrontation on problems of war and peace may exist. The class structure and sociopolitical nature of the Soviet system determine the exceptional unanimity of Soviet public opinion on problems of war and peace. Also characteristic of the peace movement in the USSR is the most important circumstance that it is operating in a country which was the first to make the struggle for a just and democratic peace the foundation of its foreign policy and the most important principle of its entire international activities. As early as March 1951, on the initiative of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the USSR Supreme Soviet passed a law proclaiming war propaganda a most severe crime. This stipulation was included in the current USSR Constitution as well.

Unlike the antiwar movements in the West, the Soviet supporters of peace, like the peace fighters in the fraternal socialist countries, do not have to exert pressure on their governments to encourage them to take steps to reduce the threat of nuclear war. Their feelings, expectations and opinions assume the nature of programmatic documents of the communist party and the specific policies of the Soviet government, which reacts closely and sensitively to the public's attitude toward one problem of world politics or another. The broad peace movement and the firm support of the entire Soviet people are the inexhaustible source of the moral and political energy nurturing the peaceable policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government and give particular substance and authority to Soviet peace initiatives.

Occasionally, representatives of various foreign antiwar movements ask the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace the following: "How can you claim to be fighting for peace if you are supporting the foreign policy of your government, whereas our common task is to struggle against the arms race in which the various governments are engaged? These are far from random or innocent statements. With the help of agents planted in the public organizations and the mass information media, the imperialist special services are intensively disseminating in the Western antiwar movements distorted ideas about the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace as an agency which is allegedly part of the state apparatus. Equally wrong are those who are trying to evaluate the mass peace movement in the socialist countries by thoughtlessly basing themselves on the features of the antiwar movement in the West.

Our answer to such statements is the following: The methods of operations and priorities of the different antiwar organizations in the different countries or internationally cannot be identical. There are many countries (not only socialist), whose peoples, antiwar movements and governments share similar ideas on the problems of war and peace. In other countries the antiwar public movement is forced to oppose the militaristic policy pursued by their governments. Naturally, this cannot be a reason for pitting one antiwar movement against another.

It would have been odd, for example, for the Soviet peace fighters, who systematically support proposals aimed at easing international tension, ending the arms race and lifting the threat of war to oppose the declaration condemning nuclear war, proposed by the USSR government, or else to reject its decision not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Not a single person in the country would understand why peace organizations in the Soviet Union would protest Moscow's proposals of making Europe a continent free from nuclear medium-range and tactical weapons, to free Europe from chemical weapons and, in general to make such weapons illegal, to prevent the militarization of space, to set specific norms governing relations among nuclear powers, etc.

## II

The peace movement in the USSR involves millions of people of different nationalities and professions, representing all geographic areas, republics, krays and oblasts in the country and all social strata and Soviet social groups: workers, kolkhoz members, employees in state and public organizations, scientific institutions, schools and mass information media, and members of various religious communities. The Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace with its 120 republic, kray and oblast peace committees, reflects the variety of components of Soviet society and ensures their balanced and proportional representation. This allows the local peace committees, with the great help of party, Komsomol and trade union organizations and Soviet agencies and mass information media, to conduct mass antiwar campaigns in our country, in which tens of millions of Soviet people participate.

The very nature of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace -- an organization which offers to millions of Soviet people the opportunity to participate to the extent of their forces in mass activities in favor of peace -- defines the means and methods of its work as a social organization. This precisely is the basis for the functioning of the commissions set up by the committee. They include the Commission on disarmament, which formulates recommendations and plans for the implementation of social projects and prepares publications and documents which express the viewpoint of the Soviet public on topical disarmament features; a commission for relations with men of culture, which ensures the participation of Soviet men of culture and the arts in antiwar actions and maintains contacts with foreign creative associations which struggle for peace; an information commission, which maintains contacts with the mass information media and is in charge of drafting various publications; and a public commission for relations with peace-oriented religious circles. A Scientific Council for the Study of the Problems of Peace and Disarmament was organized jointly by the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology in 1979.

Let us note that the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace makes wide use of the press, radio and television in informing the Soviet and foreign public of the activities of the peace-loving forces, disseminating information on the contemporary level and sources of the arms race and the fatal consequences of nuclear war. The committee publishes the monthly VEK XX I MIR, which comes

out in five languages and is distributed in more than 100 countries. Movie, television or video films on mass antiwar actions in the USSR are released, and pamphlets, books, photographs, posters and booklets are published either by the committee itself or with its assistance and participation.

The nationwide nature of our movement and its scope and dynamism were convincingly reconfirmed at the 23 January 1985 All-Union Peace Conference, which was held in Moscow and which turned into an important event in the life of Soviet society and met with widespread international response. More than 900 delegates from all republics, krays and oblasts--production frontrankers, men of culture and science, cosmonauts and representatives of soviet and party bodies and religious circles--assembled in the conference hall. The participation of numerous foreign guests--a delegation representing the World Peace Council, representatives of the peace organizations in the socialist countries and members of other foreign antiwar movements and organizations--proved the high international prestige enjoyed by the Soviet peace movement. The Soviet fighters for peace are clearly aware of their responsibility for the fate of the planet and their important tasks, which are to explain more energetically and widely the nature of the Leninist foreign policy of the land of the soviets, to expose the intrigues of the enemies of peace, detente and disarmament and to promote relations and cooperation with anyone who is against the threat of nuclear war.

The all-union conference was vivid proof of the aspiration of the Soviet peace fighters to strengthen the ranks of the world antiwar movement and to develop a dialogue and cooperation with anyone who is fully resolved to work for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe. The principles which will continue to guide the Soviet workers for peace in developing such cooperation are reflected in the Regulation on the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, which was adopted at the conference. In essence, this document concentrates within it the long practical experience of our movement and clearly defines the position and role of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace in the socioeconomic system of developed socialist society and its interrelationship with state bodies and the other public organizations in the country, which participate in the antiwar movement.

The main conclusion unanimously reached by all participants in the conference, and codified in its resolutions, was simple: the most important task of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace and the sacred duty of every participant in our movement is to bring to the people on earth the truth about the first country of victorious socialism in the world and its peaceable foreign policy. We shall continue to strengthen and develop close friendly relations with the supporters of peace in the fraternal socialist countries, contribute to the development of a dialogue, contacts and cooperation between the Soviet public and the peace-loving and democratic forces abroad, initiate joint and parallel actions with them and strengthen the unity in the ranks of the world peace movement. Our urgent and lofty objective is to stop the arms race on earth, prevent it in space and return the world to the track of detente.

### III

In the postwar years the struggle for peace has had periods of tempestuous upsurge and some declines. Actions against the threat of use of nuclear weapons, colonial wars, U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the neutron bomb and in defense of detente and international cooperation are but a few of the landmarks in the 35-year history of the fighters for peace.

The increased danger of nuclear missile war as a result of the aggressive course of American imperialism caused an unparalleled upsurge in the Western countries above all. Its current development stage involves an unparalleled scope of activities against the imposition on Western Europe of the new American first-strike nuclear missiles and plans for the militarization of space, actions in which tens of millions of people became involved. It is precisely at the present stage that the antiwar movement has become truly widespread, using a variety of methods, some of which quite active, in the struggle against the militaristic policy pursued by the ruling circles of the leading capitalist states. The antiwar campaigns in the USSR as well assumed a new scope, both similar to actions in the Western countries as well as campaigns whose forms and methods were inherent in socialist countries only.

The month of active efforts directed against the threat of nuclear war conducted every month of May in our country may already be considered traditional. Thus, 163,000 marches, demonstrations and meetings, attended by 76 million people, took places in May 1984. Last year, extensive mass actions took place also during annual disarmament week (24-31 October), on the appeal of the United Nations and the World Peace Council. They totaled 100,000 actions involving 53 million people. These and other mass actions conducted by the Soviet public were part of the world disarmament campaign proclaimed at the Second Special UN General Assembly Disarmament Session. On the initiative of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, for the second consecutive year "Peace Lessons" were taught in all 130,000 day-time general education schools throughout the country on the first day of the school year. On 1 September 1984, noted leaders of the Soviet peace movement and war and labor veterans addressed 45 million school students attending such classes.

Let us particularly mention the Soviet peace fund, consisting of voluntary donations made by private citizens and entire collectives. All of us remember how during the Great Patriotic War many Soviet people, who were selflessly fighting at the front or working in the rear, contributed their savings to the victory fund, and paid out of their own funds for aircraft and tanks for the Red Army. Today, motivated by feelings of patriotism and internationalism and the desire to do everything possible to strengthen peace, the Soviet people spare neither efforts nor the funds earned through their work for the sake of this objective. There are more than 350,000 commissions for assistance to the peace fund in the country, operated by some 5 million activists. It is precisely now, as is always the case during periods of aggravation of international tension, that the amount of voluntary contributions made by the Soviet people to the peace fund mounts sharply, thus making it not only the material base of the peace movement in our country but also a kind of barometer of public opinion.

Ubiquitous "peace watches," "peace runs" and "memory watches" have become a popular form of participation in antiwar actions. Here are examples. A

"memory watch," in the Ukraine, which lasted 1 month and was observed in all 25 republic oblasts, involving 18,000 enterprises, establishments, kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the republic, ended on 9 May 1984. On this occasion, 3,500 Great Patriotic War heroes and labor veterans were made honorary members of labor collectives and the money earned in their name was presented to the Soviet peace fund. A "peace watch" was held at the Khabarovskstroytrans Production Association in Komsomol-na-Amure on 29 October last, in the course of which 250 trucks displayed "We Are Working for the Peace Fund" banners. Many more such examples could be cited.

The local peace committees and the multimillion strong aktiv of the Soviet peace movement are steadily coming up with initiatives aimed at maintaining the antiwar campaign in our country on a high ideological and political level, and ensuring that the measures taken in this campaign are extensive in terms of composition, varied in form, convincing and effective in terms of the extent of their moral-political and educational impact. Thus, a people's march to sites of combat glory, in which 110,000 people took part, was held in Estonia last spring; a "peace trip" to Glory Valley, where the fascist troops were stopped during the war, was made in Murmansk Oblast with 150 buses; and a meeting of soldiers' widows was held in Melitopol (more than 1,000 participants). Signatures are regularly collected for appeals addressed to the United Nations. Thus, more than 100,000 signatures were collected for an address to the 39th UN General Assembly session. A "Theater Workers in the Struggle for Peace" week was held in Tbilisi on 24-31 October, and trees were planted along 12 "Peace Alleys" in Udmurtiya. The peace supporters in Tatariya combined a peace march with a dramatized antiwar meeting and concert, and a music and literature evening on the topic of "Life and Peace" took place in Riga.

The increasingly mass participation of Soviet athletes in "peace bicycle races" and mass "peace starts" in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Estonia, Bashkiria and other republics is one of the indicators of the expanded scale of the nationwide peace movement. The participation of 70 million Soviet youngsters in the "I vote for peace" referendum, initiated by the youth organizations in the USSR was a method used in involving the young people in the peace movement. Peace races with privately owned cars were run in a number of republics and oblasts. The Stavropol peace committee sponsored a "peace train," which traveled to Kiev, Vilnyus, Tallin and Novgorod. Antiwar meetings were held at the train stops with the participation of 40,000 people. Let us also mention the antiwar women's rally in Kramatorsk, the "peace trip" on the Dnepr taken by Belorussian writers, the meeting of "three generations for peace" in Ashkhabad, the "Science-Peace-Progress" international university students' conference in Voronezh, and others. Foreign guests, who came to our country either as members of delegations or as tourists, and foreign students studying in the USSR took part in many of them and in other activities.

The peace movement has assumed a truly nationwide scope. The antiwar actions in which millions of Soviet people participate are an obvious refutation of the artless propaganda urged on the public by some Western information media, according to which the Soviet committees for the defense of peace are "official offices" not based on the initiative of ordinary citizens and

established for the virtually sole purpose of misleading the gullible Western public. As we know, however, practical experience is the best criterion of truth. It is precisely through their practical experience in the course of their contacts with the peace movement of the USSR that hundreds of thousands of members of the foreign public gain the possibility of familiarizing themselves with the activities of the Soviet workers for peace.

The comprehensive broadening of the dialogue and the search for possible forms of international cooperation among the various public antiwar movements become particularly important under the conditions of the worsened international situation and the energizing of the material, military-strategic and moral-psychological imperialist preparations for nuclear war. Their political spectrum is steadily expanding as the masses increasingly realize the nature of the great threat to the very future of nations of the plans and actions of the Pentagon military and their accomplices in other countries. Naturally, in the course of contacts among very disparate organizations agreement is by no means possible always and in everything. This is quite obvious, considering the political and social conditions under which the supporters of peace operate in countries with different socioeconomic systems and the pressure to which many of them are subjected by imperialist propaganda. However, the common awareness of the nuclear threat and the priority of the task of preventing it, compared to other global problems facing mankind, is a sufficient foundation for agreeing on cooperation and on joint or parallel actions by different peace-loving forces.

Naturally, the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace maintains particularly active and close relations with the national peace movements which share the goals and principles of the World Peace Council. Long-established traditions of cooperation exist between us and these movements.

The efficient interaction among the peace organizations in the socialist community, both bilateral and within the world peace movement, plays a great role. The basic trends of joint activities are discussed and a unity of views on the major problems of the international circumstances is formulated on the basis of common objectives and practical tasks at the regular consultative meetings of leaders of such organizations (three such meetings were held in 1984). Friendly border meetings are steadily organized with Polish, Czechoslovak, Hungarian and Mongolian peace workers, frequently attended by representatives of the public of other socialist countries.

Meetings between delegations of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace and political personalities, scientists and representatives of business circles in the United States (the Dartmouth meetings) and the FRG (the Bergerdorf meetings). As a rule, the status of the American and West German participants in such meetings is quite high. They include members of the ruling groups and opposition politicians. The dialogue conducted at such meetings makes it possible to understand the positions of the sides better and to try to find meeting points of their views in the interest of creating conditions for cooperation.

In recent years, international peace marches have become an effective form of antiwar action. For example, a "Peace March-82" was held on USSR territory

following the itinerary Stockholm-Helsinki-Leningrad-Kalinin-Moscow-Kiev-Budapest-Bratislava-Viena, with participants from more than 30 different countries. A total of 700,000 Soviet citizens participated in the mass events related to the "Peace March-82" activities on our soil. An international "Bicycle Peace Race-83" originated in Moscow in the summer of 1983. Its participants covered 2,340 kilometers in the USSR, Finland, Sweden, Norway and the United States. Numerous meetings and demonstrations were held along their route.

Many republic and oblast peace committees as well have contacts with foreign peace organizations. They actively correspond, exchange information data, exchange tourist visits by groups of peace movement activists and organize bilateral conferences and encounters. Thus, the Leningrad Committee for the Defense of Peace sponsors annual Soviet-Finnish conferences with the participation of 150-200 activists from the Finnish peace movement and sends its own delegations as guests of the organization of the Finnish peace fighters. The Latvian Committee for the Defense of Peace maintains relations with peace supporters in Finland and the FRG; the Belorussian is in touch with antiwar movements in England, etc.

#### IV

The awareness of millions of people throughout the world of the realities of the nuclear threat and of the need for joint actions for the sake for saving life on earth has had a positive influence on the activities of various types of international social forces or, as they are frequently known, nongovernmental bodies, federations, associations and others. This has contributed to a growing understanding of the actual origin of the threat to peace and of who is imposing on the peoples a cold war policy. The tireless activities of progressive organizations aimed at exposing anticommunist ideologues and debunking the myth of the "aggressiveness" of the socialist countries have also had an effect, and so does the gradual lifting of artificial barriers separating organizations of different political persuasions and the energizing of contacts and exchanges among them.

Taking into consideration the importance of the consolidation of the efforts of all political and social forces which are fighting for peace, the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace invariably displays an interested approach to this process. Without retreating from our ideological principles or claiming monopoly in defining both the platform and the methods of activity of the world antiwar movement, we try to find the type of joint decisions which will be consistent with the interests of all of its participants to the greatest possible extent.

This type of approach is manifested particularly clearly in the activities of the International Forum on Ties with Peace-Loving Forces -- the system of dialogue and interaction among various political parties and mass organizations which was developed after the Moscow 1973 World Peace Congress. This forum sponsored two important conference-dialogues in 1984: in Stockholm, in March, in connection with the end of the first stage of the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe, and in September, in Geneva, on cooperation between the UN and antiwar

social movements. Another noteworthy international event was the World Conference-Dialogue on Disarmament and Detente, which took place in Vienna on 25-28 January 1985. Noted political and public personalities, members of communist, social democratic, centrist, Christian democratic, liberal and national democratic parties and representatives of trade union, youth, women, religious and other nongovernmental organizations participated in all of these meetings. The representatives of Soviet mass organizations, affiliated with the Soviet Committee for Relations With Peace-Loving Forces, are making their constructive contribution to the forum's activities.

The information meetings between Soviet social personalities, noted scientists, disarmament experts and religious leaders and members of antiwar and mainly pacifist and religious organizations from Western Europe and North America are another example of a dialogue which has been given citizenship rights, so to say, the purpose of which is to allow such persons to clarify their views (by no means imposed), sponsored by the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace and held in Moscow in 1983 and 1984.

The existence of the objective requirement to strengthen the interaction among the various peace-loving forces and the influence of the factors we mentioned do not mean, however, that the number of obstacles standing on the way of developing the unity of action of peace-loving forces is diminishing. We must persistently break the remaining ice of caution and mistrust and to surmount not only long-time encrustations of alienation but also the increasingly refined efforts of Western militaristic and political circles, which are related to them, to undermine the developing unity of antiwar forces.

The bosses of the military-industrial complex are using against the participants in antiwar movements the entire power of the propaganda influence exerted by the mass information media at their service and the power of the police-repressive machinery. Another danger of weakening the unity of action among peace-loving forces may be found in the situation which has developed within the antiwar movement itself. This refers to concepts instilled in its ranks in some Western countries of so-called "equidistance" from the great powers and "independence" of the antiwar movement. Their study reveals them to be directed against cooperation with one antimilitaristic organization or movement or another, trapped by such concepts, not only by peace fighters from the socialist countries but also by those in the Western countries themselves, who do not share the anti-Soviet views of the supporters of such concepts. The commonness of their views with those of the reactionary American politicians and West German revanchists on the subject of "surmounting Yalta," i. e., denouncing the agreements made at the 1945 Yalta conference between the heads of the USSR, the United States and Great Britain on problems of postwar settlement, was the logical completion of the evolution of the anti-Soviet forces in the antiwar movement, a commonness revealed of late.

The line of overemphasizing and inflating contradictions within the antiwar movement was manifested, in particular, in February and December 1984 at the two conferences held in Athens on the topic of a nuclear-free Europe. Together with their few supporters, the heads of the Dutch Interdenominational Peace Council made a great effort at these conferences to prevent the adoption of a coordinated platform for further action by the various antiwar forces.

Nevertheless, the results of these conferences-dialogues prove that through mutual respect and equality such encounters could become an effective channel for strengthening reciprocal understanding among antiwar movements quite disparate in terms of nature and orientation.

Nor can we fail to mention the increasingly open subversive activities of individual leaders and ideologues of organizations, such as the Movement for European Nuclear Disarmament and the Bertrand Russell Foundation for Peace. The two conventions they held, the first in Brussels (1982) and the second in West Berlin (1983) earned them the poor reputation of being divisive measures, which ended in an atmosphere of sharp discord between their organizers and the forces within the antiwar movement sincerely interested in increasing the efficiency of the struggle for disarmament and peace. Once again, despite all sorts of pledges and guarantees, various provocative sallies against representatives of peace organizations in the socialist countries and efforts to instill in the antiwar movement in Western countries a negative attitude toward any kind of cooperation with supporters of the peace "in the East" were made at the third such convention, which was held in Perugia (Italy) in July 1984, this time in the presence of representatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries (under the pressure of the majority of participants, the organizers of the convention were forced to lift the discriminatory conditions for our participation they had previously set). Such actions were firmly rebuffed by the sensible participants in the convention.

The Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace has always been interested in and ready to establish contacts in the matter of the struggle for peace and disarmament with the United Nations and the nongovernmental organizations cooperating with the various UN subdivisions. It has become traditional for delegations from the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace to participate in the special sessions of the UN General Assembly disarmament sessions and the various measures of the disarmament and public information departments at the UN headquarters in New York during the regular UN General Assembly sessions.

Despite the full importance of the variety of such channels for international relations maintained by the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, developed of late, as always relations with the World Peace Council, of which our committee is a member, play a special role. The World Peace Council, which is the most widespread social movement of our time, is the organized movement of the fighters for peace and an exclusive universal antiwar organization in which long-established movements of peace fighters from the capitalist, developing and socialist countries participate on an equal footing.

The World Peace Council Presidium held a session in Moscow last March. Its participants noted the decisive role which the Soviet Union had played in the defeat of Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism. They condemned the course of the Reagan administration of intensifying the arms race and moving it to outer space. The participants in the session called for mobilizing world public opinion to contribute to the success of the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space armaments in Geneva, based on the strict observance of agreements on their subject and purposes, reached during the Gromyko-Schultz

meeting. They also adopted the appeal "No 'Star Wars'!", addressed to the nations of the world and the declaration of the World Peace Council Presidium "Let the Year of the 40th Anniversary of the Victory Over Fascism Be a Year of Victory Over the Threat of Nuclear War!"

The 26th Party Congress emphasized that "The struggle for lowering the threat of war and restraining the arms race was and remains the pivotal trend in the foreign-policy activities of the party and the state." The preservation of peace on earth remains the present and future objective of the numerous initiatives of the Soviet state in the international arena. However hard the bourgeois mass information media try to conceal or misrepresent the nature of such peace initiatives, the people all over the earth are seeing with increasing clarity and properly appreciating the persistence and consistency of the peace-loving policy pursued by our country.

The deep faith of the Soviet peace movement in the successful solution of the historical problem of rescuing mankind from the threat of a nuclear world war is based not on pious wishes but on a profound analysis and realistic assessment of the ratio of forces in the contemporary world and the firm belief in the justice of the principled line followed by the CPSU and the Soviet state in world politics. The Soviet people realize that a decisive improvement of the political climate on our planet is possible only by defeating the stubborn resistance of those who rely on force in world politics and on blocking any attempts to impose a nuclear war. The Soviet peace fighters consider this their main task and it is on this base that the unity among all peace-loving forces on earth rests.

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## THE FATE OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION

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[Article by Professor R. Uyanovskiy, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] The 1978-79 revolution in Iran was a genuine all-people's festive event. Virtually all strata of the population, ranging from the inhabitants of pitiful slums and indigent paupers and lumpen, deprived of the means of existence, to students, intelligentsia and other representatives of middle classes, and from proletarian masses to bazaar merchants and various entrepreneur circles were united in a single revolutionary movement and in a single aspiration to put an end to the past.

For nearly an entire year hundreds of thousands and, at times, even millions of people took to the streets of Tehran and other Iranian cities nearly every day. They went out to hold large political demonstrations even though they could be and quite often were met with fire at every intersection and in every square. Young people, intoxicated by the desire for freedom, went up against tanks with bare hands. They were ready for any kind of self-sacrifice only to defend their new spirit of freedom.

However, this new spirit of freedom was fettered from the very beginning by the chains the name of which is Muslim fanaticism. The dark ignorant masses that had been held down for a long time by monarchical oppression and tyranny represented the majority of the revolution's participants. Having been only just aroused to open street political struggle, but being still quite inexperienced in the essence of politics, they were acquainted only with one form of social ideology, religion and only with one form of world outlook, the religious one. They knew quite well what they did not want but very unprecisely what they did want. Disdaining death and easily parting with life, they believed that they fought for the right cause of Allah and of the prophet and imams and for that "universal Islamic justice" which, as the mullahs and other religious preachers constantly impressed upon them, was expressed long ago in the dogmas of the Koran and Sharia and should be embodied in real life.

And if the spirit of freedom was fettered by the chains of spiritual slavery from the very beginning, then the feast of freedom, too, carried in itself the seeds of tragedy from the start.

The origins of this dialectically contradictory phenomenon must be sought in the specific historical peculiarities of Iran's development, the nature of the predominant socioeconomic relations in the country and the level of the class and political awareness of a majority of the people. In societies of the Iranian type religion acts not only as a real cultural, spiritual and ritual force but also as a type of social community that stands above a very great ethnic diversity and above the national unity that is forming in the process of deep contradictions.

The slogans "Islamic Revolution" and "Islamic Republic," raised by the Iranian clergy which in this situation naturally found itself at the head of the mass movement, were adopted by the broad strata of people as the expression of their deeply felt (although also spontaneous in all respects) urge for social justice. This is the entire matter.

As regards the Shiite theologians who represented the conservative social-corporative stratum of Iranian society, they--having embarked on the path of political radicalism and demagogically emphasizing the universal aspiration to justice--struggled first and foremost to perpetuate the conditions for their own existence and win the state hegemony. However, in the process of the antishah and anti-imperialist movement, this aspect of the clergy's activity was obscured and suppressed by its active and, later, also leading participation in that movement.

In revealing these specific characteristics of the Iranian revolution, it is impossible not to take into account also the sociopolitical consequences of the shah's policy of accelerated capitalist development as well as the results of the repressive activities of the monarchical regime. The patriotically minded part of the national bourgeoisie which was interested in independent development and in limiting the shah's dictatorial power and the imperialist dominance in the economy, was weak and politically poorly organized. The liberal organizations representing its interests on the whole adopted compromising positions and in the final analysis were unable in the conditions of the revolutionary movement to form a real alternative to the shah's regime, although the monarch himself was forced to become inclined to the idea of handing the government over to them at the most critical moment in order to prevent the victory of the revolution and the assumption of power by the Islamic theologian and, especially, by the left-wing forces.

The conditions in the ranks of the Iranian left-wing democratic organizations that played an important and, in the days of the 1979 February armed uprising, decisive role in the victory of the revolution must be considered separately.

The Iranian Party of the Masses (Tudeh), which had operated in a state of illegality for more than a quarter of a century, was politically the most mature, united and organized detachment of the left-wing forces. In the course of brutal persecution, communists were physically destroyed or held for dozens of years in Evin, one of the most horrible jails in Iran. Although by

the time of the revolution the party had not yet managed to fully recover from the blows suffered in the past, it actively participated in the antimonarchical and anti-imperialist movement. It was forced to solve the task of restoring the party ranks in the course of difficult revolutionary battles.

Among other Iranian left-wing forces it was the left-wing democratic organizations of Fedayeen-e Khalq and Mojahedine Khalq that distinguished themselves by their mass character, high degree of organization and militancy. The former called itself an "independent Marxist-Leninist organization" and stood on the platform of proletarian internationalism; and the latter recognized Marxism-Leninism as a "guide in action" and strove to combine in a special way the individual principles of Marxism-Leninism with the basic dogmas of Islamic religion considered from democratic, progressive and, so to say, modern positions. In actively participating in the antishah and anti-imperialist movement, these revolutionary democratic organizations were in the forefront of the struggle and thereby ensured its progressive development.

The general conditions in the ranks of the left-wing forces were characterized by the absence of any kind of strategic, organizational, or even tactical alliances among them. True, in some individual instances they spontaneously acted along the path of united actions, but unfortunately this was not reflected in any way in possibilities for overcoming the disagreements that existed between them.

At the same time, striving by all means to prevent any strengthening of or rapprochement among the left-wing organizations, the clergy acted more or less in a united front in its struggle for power by smoothing out and resolving its internal disagreements in the face of its common left-wing democratic opponents from the camp of social progress. This not only enabled the Shiite theologians to strengthen their leading role in the mass antimonarchical and anti-imperialist movement, but also enabled them to ignore the left-wing organizations and, at times, also to squeeze them out of the mainstream of the struggle of the antishah opposition.

However, in the days of the 9-12 February 1979 armed uprising, the left-wing forces, leading the all-people's rebuff to the shah's guards of the "immortals," succeeded in shaking quite noticeably the clergy's role of primacy in the leadership of the mass movement. Considering the overthrow of the shah's regime and the elimination of American dominance as the most important task of the moment, they threw all their forces into routing the common enemy. Shedding their blood on barricades and in open fighting, the left-wing democratic groups did not even raise the question of future participation in the government whereas the clergy, having recovered from the first shock after having stayed at the beginning in mosques and fortified residences, set out to systematically and purposefully capture the main levers of state power. On the day of the victory of the uprising, 12 February 1979, the Islamic leadership disregarded all other forces of revolution and made the first appointments in the government and other organs of power.

The broad popular masses that, responding to the call of the left-wing organizations, had unhesitatingly thrown themselves into the struggle against

the troops that remained loyal to the shah's regime, once again returned, also unhesitatingly, under the leadership of the Shiite theologians after the rout of the shah's troops.

But how can the aforementioned position of the Iranian left-wing forces be explained? By a tactical-strategic miscalculation or by a sober appraisal of the real situation? It seems that the latter of the two elements was the most important one. The leadership of the left-wing democratic organizations well understood the entire force of influence of the Shiite theologians among the broad popular masses, that is, the influence of the theologians who had managed at the very beginning of the revolution to mobilize these masses in the anti-shah struggle under the green banner of Islam. The leaders of the left-wing organizations were also perfectly aware of the clergy's true attitude toward the contemporary progressive and especially Marxist-Leninist ideas the spreading of which it feared even more than it feared the "pernicious bourgeois culture of the West," which, according to theologians, threatened the very foundations of Islam in Iran.

It must be assumed that precisely as a result of this appraisal of the objective situation in the country, the left-wing organizations strove, both before and after the February victory, not for participation in the government but only against the clergy's attempts to "monopolize the revolution." Currently considering the events that were taking place as a profoundly popular revolution in which the general urge toward social justice strikingly manifested itself, the leaders of the left-wing democratic groups were convinced that the revolution would not stop at merely overthrowing the shah's regime and that the highest Shiite leadership would willy-nilly have to take the road of satisfying at least the most acute demands of the people if not also their most fundamental aspirations. Therefore the left-wing forces did not regard their participation in power as being the most important for them, but rather such strong and multifaceted pressure on that power which would be able to promote the society's development along the path of progressive social transformations on the one hand, and help widen and deepen the spontaneous activity and initiative of the masses and, at the same time, help these masses in overcoming their illusions about the clergy's ultimate-goals through their own political experience, on the other.

It appears that this approach in considering the question at hand was well-founded in many respects. However, the opportunities for attainment of these goals wholly and completely depended on the unity and cohesion of the left-wing democratic forces and on their desire and ability to act in a united front on the basis of jointly coordinated action programs. Furthermore, such unity could erect barriers that could not be easily overcome in the way of the intentions, nurtured by theologians, to split up all progressive forces in the country in order to subsequently deal with each of them separately.

Regretfully, it must be stated once again that the joint actions in the days of the February armed uprising in 1979 did not create the basis for the formation of a united front of all left-wing democratic forces of Iran. Consequently, each of them was forced to individually resist the strategems with which the clergy--in the "best" Persian and general Eastern traditions--skillfully surrounded each step of its policy that was aimed at setting up a

theocratic and despotic regime and at the Islamization of all aspects of life in Iranian society.

Being vitally interested in restoring "order and security" in the country or, simply speaking, in curtailing the revolutionary movement, but striving at the same time to preserve unblemished their recently acquired reputation of "uncompromising revolutionaries," and having captured supreme power in the country, the Shiite theologians considered it necessary to achieve their goals--and this is very indicative--through the hands of others. By decisions of the leader of the anti-shah struggle, Ayatollah Khomeyni, who had acquired absolutely unlimited powers, in February 1979 the executive authority in the country was handed over to a government that was mainly composed of figures from the liberal-bourgeois camp and was headed by Mehdi Bazargan.

The new prime minister represented the interests of bourgeois and pro-bourgeois circles and, at the same time, was close to the Islamic political movement. Hoping to be able in time to squeeze the clergy out to a secondary position in Iran's political life, he dutifully carried out its secret instructions aimed at curtailing the revolutionary movement, and equally obediently endured public criticism by the same clergy whenever the implementation of this provoked the people's indignation. Only a little time passed before the new government--even without itself noticing it--became a powerless appendage of the theologians who had increased their power more and more and, at the same time, also the "scapegoat" for all those who were dissatisfied.

By November 1979 the possibilities for using the Bazargan government had been exhausted by the Shiite theologians. Everything had been squeezed out of it. But by that time the clergy had achieved--in particular through Bazargan's hands--much of that for which it strove. Iran was proclaimed an Islamic Republic. The lower organs of the people's authority that had been formed as revolutionary committees and revolutionary tribunals during the antishah revolutionary fighting and as a result of the spontaneous activities of the masses were transformed into "Islamic revolutionary committees" and "Islamic revolutionary tribunals." The Corps of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards, newly formed by the theologians, and the police and gendarmerie, mainly the old security organs of the shah that had been restored by the Bazargan government (with the blessings of the same clergy), as well as the army were also turned into tools for implementation of the clergy's goals. The self-governing commissions of workers and employees in enterprises were turned into conciliative "Islamic committees" that were headed by mullahs and included entrepreneurs.

In November 1979, as a result of the well-known events connected with the seizure of members of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran as hostages, the Bazargan government, which by that time had caused general dissatisfaction among the revolutionary and anti-imperialist masses, was repaced de facto by the clergy. Both the events, the seizure of hostages and the removal of the liberal-bourgeois government from power, enabled the theologians to enhance even more their reputation as "uncompromising revolutionaries" among the people although in practice these events were used to systematically and purposefully "relax" the revolutionary and anti-imperialist energy of the broad popular masses.

The Iranian-Iraqi war that started in September 1980 (and still continues now) and which has already taken a toll of hundreds of thousands of lives, also served (and still serves) the same goal. The flower of the nation, children and adolescents, electrified by the mullahs' sermons that death in the battle against "infidels" is a direct road to paradise, often advanced as a "live wave" to clear minefields and thereby open up the path for the advance of regular troops.

Following the resignation of the Bazargan government, political despotism autocratically consolidated itself at the helm of state administration of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Islamic constitution was adopted in December 1979 which legislatively consolidated the country's transformation into a theocratic state, and the new Islamized structure of state authority was fully developed within a few subsequent months. However, in conformity with the wishes of Ayatollah Khomeyni, who continued to strive to ensure the political supremacy of religious figures, a secular figure from the ranks of representatives of the Islamic political movement, Abdulhasan Bani-Sadr, whose politics differed little from the politics of his predecessor Bazargan, became president of the republic. He was elected president in January 1980 by 75 percent of the votes but in June 1981 was removed from his position by the will of religious figures and Khomeyni himself.

The clergy's carefully camouflaged exploitation of the Bazargan government and President Bani-Sadr for its own goals passed nearly unnoticed among the popular masses, and public criticism of their activity, based on a pro-bourgeois and pro-Western policy course, met with approval among broad circles of the public. This criticism created the illusion that the contradictions between the de facto ruling clergy and the civilian executive authority turned around the nature and orientation of the country's socioeconomic development, that is, either a capitalist or noncapitalist orientation, and in this connection the former of the two orientations was attributed to President Bani-Sadr and the latter to the clergy. But in reality, what was at the basis of the existing contradictions between them was only the question of the form of state organization, that is, the question of whether a bourgeois Iran would be a completely theocratic state or a secular state, through a secular state under a considerable influence of ministers of religion. The problem of choosing the road of development toward capitalism or socialism did not exist in this conflict. It was no accident that soon after the removal of President Bani-Sadr when the clergy for the first time openly assumed official responsibility for the country's government, the probourgeois course of action, accompanied at the same time by an accelerated Islamization of Iranian life, began to manifest itself more and more strongly in the clergy's socioeconomic policy.

Until the removal of President Bani-Sadr, the left-wing force generally and on the whole adhered to a policy of "loyal opposition" in relation to the clergy that de facto ruled the country.

Despite the undemocratic measures of the authorities, they did not consider it possible to enter into any direct and open confrontation with these authorities. The fact that the religious figures continued to enjoy the support of a majority of the people and that, in the early period after the

uprising in February 1979, they carried out a number of objectively anti-imperialist measures, also played its role in this connection. For this reason, the left-wing organizations mainly restricted themselves to criticizing those actions of the government organs which were especially clearly contrary to the interests of the people and they criticized the leading religious figures extremely rarely.

By the time of Bani-Sadr's resignation, two opposite political courses in relation to the clergy had finally crystallized among the ranks of the left-wing forces. The Iranian Party of the Masses and a large part of the Fedayeen-e Khalq (in the middle of 1980 this organization split up into two groups, a "majority" and a "minority") that had moved close to it, continued to follow the policy of "loyal opposition" to the ruling clergy. They hoped that, sooner or later, objective conditions would make it possible to preserve the achievements of the antishah and anti-imperialist revolution along the path of support for the regime. The Mojahedin-e Khalq and part of the Fedayeen-e Khalq (the {minority}) that had moved closer to it, believed, on the contrary, that the clergy had already completely exhausted its progressive potential and that, moreover, it had turned into a counterrevolutionary force. Proceeding from this belief, they considered it necessary to embark on the road of armed struggle against the regime.

As time passed, the miscalculations and shortcomings of both political courses of actions manifested themselves to full extent. The conspiratorial-terrorist activity of the Mojahedin-e Khalq failed to win any wide and active support among the people and, consequently, resulted in a premature, futile, and massive waste of forces. On the other hand, the continued support for the regime under the new conditions not only disoriented the revolutionary mood of the masses but also led to the loss of vigilance in the face of possible repressive measures of the authorities.

The results became clear quite early. By the end of 1982 the ruling Islamic theologian circles had inflicted serious losses on the Mojahedin-e Khalq and Fedayeen-e Khalq (the "minority") and, at the beginning of 1983, they came down with bloody repressions on the Iranian Party of the Masses which they incriminated with invented charges of "state treason" and "espionage" for the USSR. Tens of thousands of the best sons of the people were executed or imprisoned.

The tragic experience of those days demonstrated more graphically than ever the acute necessity of action unity of all left-wing democratic forces on the basis of a jointly elaborated program. Although the ruling clergy of Iran has not succeeded and, it must be believed, never will succeed--no matter how much it wants--in tearing out by roots the spirit of democratic liberties and of social liberation of the people, it has nevertheless managed for a certain time to slow down and brake the inexorable march of historical progress, and bring to bay the ineradicable craving of the broad masses of the people for a just social system that would open up for all citizens equal opportunities to rule their own destiny and the destiny of the entire country. The conservative clergy has succeeded in stopping the social revolution and in tearing it away from the overthrow of the monarchial power and the elimination of American domination, that is, from political revolution. Herein lies the

profound and perfidious plan of the clergy that is closely connected with bourgeois business and large landowners.

The tragedy of the Iranian revolution is now reflected in all manifestations of social, economic, political, cultural and family life of the society.

The millions of homeless people who had participated in the revolutionary antishah and anti-imperialist struggle with extraordinary readiness for self-sacrifice and extraordinary heroism have obtained nothing from the revolution except that charitable pittance by means of which the new ruling group of Iran strives to strengthen its own positions and, at the same time, finally and definitely take the steam out of the revolutionary energy and suppress the initiative of broad popular masses. At the same time, the propertied strata of the population continue to enrich themselves on the suffering and deprivations of the people as well as from the burden of the war with Iraq which is needed by no one except by the clergy itself and the newly rich close to it and which is taking an endless toll of human lives.

The country's economic situation continues to be difficult and has been further aggravated in recent years as a result of destruction of the oil-producing, oil-processing and other industries along the entire frontline and as a result of expenditures for the conduct of military operations. The restructuring of the country's economic structure that is based nearly exclusively on oil exports and the imports of basic consumer goods which have been promised to the people continues to be postponed from year to year. In this situation no serious observer is risking a forecast of improvement in the country's economic situation in the immediate future.

The domestic political situation is reminiscent of the darkest Middle Ages. The shadowing of the "suspicious ones," arrests and mass executions of "anti-Islamic elements," and elevating denunciations of friends and relatives--fathers and mothers, sons and daughters--to the level of the highest civic virtue have been turned into ordinary norms of the country's sociopolitical life. People are wary not only of casual but also of customary contacts, of simple human communication because these contacts and communication may turn out to be enough to be accused of "conspiracy" against the existing order.

The norms of the Islam of 1,400 years ago have been made into the basis of the country's cultural life and everything else is qualified as blasphemy and religious heresy. The textbooks for schools and higher education institutions have been or are being rewritten. The reading of the Koran, regular performance of prayers, observance of fasting, and wearing of yashmak and, generally, of Islamic clothes--all these are the immutable rules the observance of which is vigilantly and tirelessly monitored not only by solid state organizations but also by the "volunteer" champions of the sharia mobilized by the clergy. The family lives of citizens have been turned back to the antedeluvian times of patriarchal order and the interests of the woman, shut within the four walls of her narrow little world, are limited to her subservience to the man.

Phenomena of this kind have been encountered in history more than once when the achievements of the mass struggle have been usurped by sociopolitical

forces whose aspirations were in sharp contrast with the vital interests of the masses. However, the laws of history are relentless; the shah's regime was unable to stop them and naturally, neither is it in the power of the Islamic theologian circles to turn them back.

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IT CANNOT BE JUSTIFIED. NOTES OF A SOCIOLOGIST

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[Article by R. Lirmyan, candidate of historical sciences]

[Text] The contemporary stage of socialist construction is connected with resolving an entire complex of great and complicated problems characteristic of the various stages in the first phase of communist formation. Perfecting developed socialism requires every aspect of Soviet social life to be brought into line with the very highest, scientifically substantiated ideas on socialism. The aim of all the party's great, multifaceted and protracted work is to form the new man--our contemporary and, at the same time, the man of the communist future. This work presupposes increasing the awareness of the masses, decisively renouncing obsolete, backward views and practices and overcoming social vestiges. One such problem, without a solution to which the immediate construction of communism is inconceivable, is that of drunkenness.

This vice is destructive by virtue of its very nature and is invariably accompanied by low labor productivity, absenteeism, damage, waste of qualifications and, of course, degradation of the individual. We must be irreconcilable and consistent in our struggle against all vices and against drunkenness in particular, not permitting any deviations from the norms and principles of socialist society.

"The fact that the problem of drunkenness and alcoholism in the country has increased in recent years cannot help but cause serious concern," states the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Measures to Overcome Drunkenness and Alcoholism."

"Measures earlier planned to eliminate drunkenness and alcoholism are not being satisfactorily implemented. The struggle against this socially dangerous evil is being waged as if it were a campaign, without the necessary organization and consistency. The efforts of state and economic organs and of party and social organizations are not sufficiently coordinated in this matter."

The struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism is a process which presupposes a close mutual connection between educational, economic, prohibitive and

administrative measures implemented in a purposeful manner on a state scale. This can be achieved in a country where there is a planned national economy and where the corresponding material base is placed under directive organs. As early as 1972 the USSR Council of Ministers deemed it necessary to implement a series of measures to systematically reduce the production of wine and spirits for the purpose of gradually lessening the consumption of alcoholic beverages. It was assumed that the educational measures would lead to a reduction in the demand for alcoholic beverages which must, in its turn, result in a drop in their production, and this again would help to reduce demand.

It is naive to assume that the level of spirits production in no way affects demand. On the contrary, as centuries of practice has shown, a definite role is played here by the production of wines and spirits and any increase in this production also leads to an increase in demand.

V. I. Lenin warned against possible errors with regard to the production and consumption of alcohol. The leader of the revolution regarded alcoholism as a dangerous social ill and set the party to uncompromising, merciless struggle against this evil, which is reflected in the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks Program adopted at the 8th Congress: "...The Russian Communist Party regards its most immediate task...as that of struggling against social ills (tuberculosis, venereal disease, alcoholism, and so forth)..." This resolution found strong support in party organizations and among the masses. Decisions were adopted which declared drunkenness to be incompatible with party office. For example, the Arzamas district committee of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks in the Nizhegorod province warned communists in a special letter that any party members appearing in public places in a state of intoxication would be dismissed from its ranks, irrespective of their service.

Even Lenin's plan for the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia contained a special clause on this matter: "The prohibition of alcohol consumption must be carried even further in life as indisputably harmful to the health of the population." Looking far ahead, Illich also considered the production aspect of the problem and the fact that an electrified country would become a country with a very high level of technical equipment and that manual, unproductive labor would be replaced by labor armed with the most complex machines and mechanisms which could only be mastered by very skilled and, of course, sober workers. That is why the plan for the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia included measures for conducting educational work to improve the everyday life of the population.

Drunkenness and socialism, and drunkenness and communism are incompatible. A "Prohibition Law" was in effect in our country during the years of civil war and also during the first peaceful years of socialist construction. The New Economic Policy was a temporary deviation; another measure was the same--the introduction of a state monopoly on spirits. This was motivated, as is well-known, by the necessity to gain large amounts of circulating capital for the development of industry with our own resources, thereby avoiding foreign credits and loans and ultimately ruinous dependence on the capitalist states. Spirits were regarded at that time as an inevitable, but temporary evil.

Measures were adopted to prevent vodka from becoming a constant companion in the life of Soviet citizens. Actions against illegal distillers of vodka were increased and the All-Union Temperance Society stepped up its activities. The 8th Trade Unions Congress adopted a resolution declaring an uncompromising war on drunkards.

It seems that the experience of struggling against drunkenness and alcoholism which has been accumulated over the years of socialist construction requires painstaking study and interpretation. What deserves attention in particular is the idea put forward by major Soviet sociologists and economists at that time that, while planning income from the sale of spirits, one must not orient oneself only toward the difference between the prime production costs and the price of wines and spirits, because this approach does not contribute to the effectiveness of the struggle against drunkenness. One must not turn a blind eye to the obvious negative consequences, including economic losses, connected with the abuse of spirits.

It is precisely with consideration for the experience of the past that the resolutions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers (June 1972) contained a detailed program of struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism calculated for many years ahead and outlined a complex of measures aimed at undermining and eliminating the most terrible of evils. A course was taken to reduce the consumption of spirits in the country and, consequently, to gradually reduce the production of wines and spirits. At that time the USSR Council of Ministers instructed the USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR Ministry of the Food Industry and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics to include concrete measures in annual plans without fail, which would ensure a reduction in the production and consumption of strong alcoholic beverages and, as a countermeasure and a means of reliably eliminating drunkenness, it was proposed to considerably increase the production of wine and beer.

Such were the initial premises of party policy in this issue--a policy in the interests of the state and all Soviet people.

Hardly anyone would dispute the fact that the predilection for spirits is mainly caused by their great accessibility. Wine drinking usually flourishes on the soil of lack of exactingness toward oneself and those surrounding us--being a kind of manifestation of personal egoism--although the wine glass is frequently seen as a symbol of friendly contact and spiritual intimacy. Young people, by no means drunkards, turn to the bottle most frequently of all at times of joy and merriment, while older people drink to lessen or get rid of stress, gradually becoming slaves to the "green serpent," each time increasing their dose of alcohol. And this is nothing other than drunkenness, which leads to alcoholism.

Against this background publications by individual workers in the food industry appear strange, to say the least. Thus, in the journal FERMENTNAYA I SPIRTOVAYA PROMYSHLENNOST, the author of the article "Tasks of the Spirits, Liqueur and Vodka and Brewery Industry in 1979" laments: "The choice of liqueur and vodka products still does not fully satisfy the demands of the consumers...". A year later the same journal reported that the tasks of the

spirits industry had become considerably more complex: "The production plan for liqueur and vodka products for 1980 envisages increasing the specific proportion of high-quality vodkas produced from the spirit ekstra...the total volume of vodka produced for export (Pshenichnaya, Sibirskaya and Russkaya) has increased 4 times this year in comparison to that produced last year." One can increase the number of such examples without difficulty.

Although the decisions of directive organs have set the task of reducing the production and consumption of strong alcoholic beverages, some departments have initiated an increase in the specific proportion of liqueur and vodka products in the Ekstra class several times over. At the same time a considerable proportion of fruit and berry raw materials is used for making wine in our country. In the RSFSR approximately one-third of the fruit and berry crop is used for this purpose and a considerable proportion is canned. And only a very small part of the crop is sold fresh.

The production of spirits is basically uncontrollable. No one can give even an approximate figure with regard to how much and what kind of spirits should be produced this year, for example. The fact of the matter is that even enterprises and departments far removed from the food industry engage in the manufacture of every possible kind of fortified and, as a rule, low-quality fruit and berry wines. Mainly for the sake of profits!

There is an excess of spirits in our country, but to workers in foreign trade it seems as if spirits are still in short supply. Hard currency is paid to French specialists who teach our bartenders to make cocktails. A patent has been taken out for the manufacture of Italian vermouth, a special section has been urgently built for this purpose (a prime necessity!) and construction material in short supply have been found.

As is well-known, all forms of advertising alcoholic beverages are prohibited in our country by a special order from the USSR Ministry of Trade. However, the truth is that this is done in disguised form. The worst wine ever produced was christened Solntsedar by its creators. It has been succeeded by Yablochko, Klyukovka, Dzhin Kapitaniskiy, Yantar and Svadebnoye, and the liqueurs Yubileynaya, Iyubitelskaya, Admiralteyskaya, Kalvados Ukrainskiy... The mark of quality has been removed from the labels, but we can see a similar mark on a great number of bottles--namely the medals attesting to the triumphs of our wines and cognacs in international competitions. And surely it is advertising if the customer is handed a booklet together with his liter of foreign wine containing information on the salutary effect of this wine on the organism? Surely it is advertising when the places where spirits are consumed are decorated and equipped with greater taste and style than modest cafes? Surely it is advertising when the visitor to bars, the number of which has increased at a rapid rate, is charmed by light music and intimate semi-darkness?

In January 1980 the "Provisional Model Statute on Awarding Bonuses to Workers in Trade and Public Catering Enterprises and Organizations for Fundamental Results in Economic Activity" was adopted and the index on the sales of spirits excluded from the plan for food shops on its basis. Vendors were thereby deprived of direct material interest in the wine and vodka trade. But

the measure proved to be a palliative and yielded no results. Shops come under the jurisdiction of local organs and they, albeit indirectly, are interested in increasing the income of their administrative rayon. One can judge the results of this by taking the example of the town of Divnogorsk. Measures for struggling against drunkenness and alcoholism were approved here at the town's civic assembly and later ratified by a session of the Divnogorsk town soviet. The initial results were gratifying: the sick rate went down at the majority of enterprises, fewer people found themselves in the sobering-up station and crime was reduced. In a word, striking changes for the better were evident and they should have been maintained. But the reverse happened: the deputy chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Krayispolkom, improving trade, sent a demand to Divnogorsk "not to permit restrictions in the sale of wine and vodka" products and recommended that the town soviet "not...adopt decisions influencing fulfillment of the plan for retail trade." Why? Simply because the profits from the sale of spirits had been reduced.

Society's income primarily depends on labor productivity, and the growth of the latter, as practice shows, depends, in inverse proportion, on the quantity of spirits consumed by the producers of material goods. A great deal of time must be spent on training a skilled worker. Restoring the professional skills of a worker who has given in to alcohol requires a minimum of 1 month, provided the illness has not gone too far. In one working day a lathe operator gives production approximately 100 rubles, and a miner--300 rubles. In the month required to restore their professional skills production loses several thousands rubles. On a nationwide scale this results in vast production losses both in industry and agriculture. A machine operator who has missed work in a busy period due to drunkenness causes great economic loss for production: he fails to harvest grain which would be enough to feed more than a thousand people throughout the year. This is the real cost of several bottles of vodka!

The fact that the proceeds from the sale of spirits are not taken into account in a shop's fulfillment of its commodity turnover plan is, as has already been noted, a half-hearted measure. Trade is only the middleman between the consumer and the producer of a commodity. For there to be less spirits on sale, their production must be gradually reduced which, incidentally, is also envisaged in the Central Committee resolution "On Measures to Overcome Drunkenness and Alcoholism." It can be said: What would happen to the budget in that case?

Before answering this question, I would like to recall one fact of our history. When the 1st Five-Year Plan was being drawn up, the government instructed the USSR State Planning Committee and the USSR People's Commissariat of Finance to gather material in 6 months and submit a corresponding report to the USSR Council of People's Commissars on a system of measures for replacing in one state budget the revenue from the production and sale of spirits with other revenue, as well as indication of how consistently the planned measures were implemented. The same resolution instructed the USSR Central Statistical Administration to develop a system for calculating direct outlays by the state in connection with alcoholism (expenditure on social insurance, curing alcoholics and so forth), as well as those incurred by the national economy (from lower labor productivity, damage and so forth).

It turns out that the problem of replacing one budget source of revenue by others more in line with the nature of the new system arose more than half a century ago.

Thirteen years have passed since the aforementioned resolutions were adopted by the party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers in 1972. One would think that this was a sufficient period of time for the appropriate departments to be able to devise and propose a system of measures which would keep the revenue part of the budget unchanged in the conditions of reducing the production and sale of strong alcoholic beverages.

The 1972 USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Intensify the Struggle Against Drunkenness and Alcoholism" envisaged ensuring essential order in the alcohol trade and reducing the sale of alcohol. Responsibility for this was placed on the councils of ministers of the union republics, the USSR Ministry of Trade, the Central Union of Consumers Societies, and other ministries and departments having a trade network. Since that time the number of shops where one can buy wine and vodka products has indeed decreased and the number of people checking and controlling the sale of spirits has increased. Various kinds of measures have been implemented--to put it briefly, a multitude of measures. Meanwhile, the abundance of spirits, also testified to by the experience of the past, has in no way helped to wage an effective struggle against them.

The government resolution on reducing the sale of wine and vodka products has basically not been fulfilled. One of the points compulsory for shop assistants and public caterers in the Laws on Retail Trade in Alcoholic Beverages (ratified by the USSR Ministry of Trade on 17 November 1972) prohibits the sale of alcohol within the small retail trade network. Unfortunately, however, in practice the opposite is encountered time and again: sometimes spirits are sold directly from the back of a lorry.

The same laws have established that the sale of vodka and other alcoholic beverages of 30 percent proof or more must take place only within the retail trade network no earlier than 1100 and no later than 1900. And this clause has remained on paper. A new form of black marketeering has appeared--the sale of spirits under the counter in the evenings and at night.

When restrictions on the sale of beverages of 30 or more percent proof were introduced, it was envisaged that the manufacture of dry wines, as well as fortified and dessert wines, would increase. But how did the wine and vodka industry react to this? Beverages of 30 percent proof were removed from production and replaced by...beverages of 28 percent proof which could be traded all evening. Legally speaking, everything would appear to be correct, but had the "lethal strength" of Ukrainskaya Stepnaya, Imbirnaya and others like them really been reduced in comparison to the former Pertsovaya? Surely a loophole has opened up for getting round the law on "legal" grounds? The responsible comrades who approved the orders to cease production of 30 percent beverages and replace them with 28 percent beverages--is it possible that they did not stop to think that this cunning move would in no way help to reduce drunkenness?

There is also another point in the laws which, in our opinion, needs to be brought into line with the norms of our life. It is obvious that in order to ensure that vodka and the ill-starred "bormotukha" do not prevent people from working, they must not be sold at the usual time but at the end of the week, on Friday, for example, from approximately 3:00 p.m. until the shops close; on Saturdays and Sundays the "poison potion" can be sold from morning--from opening till closing time. What is the reason in this? Let us try to understand!

It would seem that this measure, by guaranteeing a sober working week reliably enough, will help to increase labor productivity; reduce violations of the law committed by persons in a state of intoxication or for the sake of intoxication; reduce the number of petty thefts of socialist property carried out with the aim of quickly selling the stolen goods in order to obtain spirits; replace "street" consumption of alcohol with what is socially acceptable (at home or in public catering establishments); free a considerable number of trade workers for the sale of goods in broad demand; and increase (without additional capital investments) trading areas for organizing trade on work days and Sundays.

True, the opinion exists that in the conditions of stepping up the anti-alcohol campaign the possibility is not excluded of trade sanctions being violated, as well as the probability of underground sales of surrogate alcoholic beverages. Well, this means that we must be ready to suppress any kind of evasive maneuvers by making fuller use of the force of the law against those who, proceeding from narrow departmental interests or personal mercenary motives, willingly or unwillingly pander to evil.

Of course, it is impossible to in any way examine in detail every aspect of this problem in just one article. We will note just some of these aspects. Thus, in order to regulate the sale of strong alcoholic beverages, in our opinion, it is worthwhile introducing shop marking of bottles (as has been done for a long time in restaurants) and sealing wine storing premises after the shop has closed in the presence of militia workers, people's controllers, and representatives of trade inspection and the public. Stricter application of existing legislation would doubtless help to increase the struggle against the home distilling of vodka. And the reduction in receipts in the revenue part of the budget could ultimately be compensated by deducting a certain percentage of state enterprise profits for the budget. There is no doubt that these profits would begin to grow in the conditions of a sober working week.

But let us return to retail trade in alcoholic beverages. As checks have shown, virtually every point in the aforementioned laws on the sale of these beverages is blatantly violated everywhere. Let us be totally frank: on the one hand, trade enterprises are bound to struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism, but on the other hand, they have to remember their obligation to fulfill the commodity turnover plan, in which trade in spirits plays far from a minor role. They are awarded moral laurels for their "contribution" to the struggle against drunkenness and material goods for their fulfillment and overfulfillment of commodity turnover tasks. This is the very case where departmental "success" becomes an evil to society.

Proposals for the introduction of a "dry law" in one form or another have recently become increasingly loud and persistent. This is an extreme measure regarding which many doubts exist--its possible negative consequences are envisaged. In this respect the bitter experience of the United States which, as is well-known, made an unsuccessful attempt to introduce a "dry law" in the 1920s and 1930s, is used as the main argument. However, one must not forget one extremely important fact: the "dry law" in the United States primarily affected the interests of spirits manufacturers and threatened to take away their fabulous profits. With their blessing the mafia organized the underground production and sale of spirits; even organs of law and order were involved. The mafia is the natural outcome of capitalist society, where everything is founded on the power of cash. It is hardly necessary to prove that the phenomena engendered by the bourgeois way of life cannot be mechanically correlated with socialist reality. Incidentally, when discussing the consequences of establishing a "dry law" in the United States, the opponents of this law usually ignore two facts. First, the abolition of this law did not lead, as could have been expected, to a sharp increase in the consumption of spirits. And, second, to this day there are states in this country where the sale of spirits is categorically forbidden.

It is worth recalling our own experience--the "dry law" adopted in Russia in 1914. It is claimed that this law did not justify itself as it promoted black marketeering in alcohol and the practice of distilling vodka at home, and this is indeed so. But a positive fact is also noted by statistics: during that period the total number of persons suffering from alcohol abuse dropped sharply. As is well-known, the "dry law" was effective in our country during the civil war and in the first years of the New Economic Policy. Were there home distillers of vodka? There were. But their number doubled almost as soon as the state announced its monopoly on the production and sale of spirits.

The restrictions on the production and sale of spirits introduced in Soviet Russia during the civil war and in the first years of the New Economic Policy undoubtedly brought positive results, which one cannot discount when studying and interpreting past experience. Even now there are a number of areas and certain sectors of work in our country where a kind of "dry law" is in effect--in the army, on fishing vessels, on railroad transport, in aircraft, on drifting polar stations, in gold-mining settlements--everywhere where alcohol abuse could have a negative effect on the fulfillment of state plans of particular importance or is incompatible with safety requirements. It is well-known that the construction of the giant Kama automobile plant was completed in an extremely short space of time. There is no doubt that a definite role was played in this by the absence of spirits on sale in Naberezhnye Chelny (not the city of Brezhnev) for several years. Temperance is also strictly observed in student construction detachments.

Active struggle against drunkenness must be accompanied by an increase in educational work, reorientation of the awareness of millions and, at the same time, the creation of conditions for productive, sensible leisure. In this work account should be taken of the important conclusion reached by sociological services: in the conditions of the scientific-technological

revolution the number of professions requiring people to be completely sober is growing rapidly and will continue to do so.

We must primarily strive so that the renunciation of spirits consumption reflects an inner need of every aware citizen and so that this renunciation is seen by those surrounding him as a step attesting to his high principles and morals. The party Central Committee resolution "On Measures to Overcome Drunkenness and Alcoholism" envisages as its long-term aim precisely such a conscious rejection of sprits and a kind of voluntary observance of the "dry law."

Voluntary rejection of spirits is regarded by some as utopian. Socialism itself seemed utopian at first, but it became a reality. A consciously adopted "dry law" will also become a reality. This is a kind of maximum program in the struggle against drunkenness. The minimum program, on the other hand, is that of gradually reducing the volume of spirits consumed, which will be a real step on the path to realizing the maximum program. We must appraise every possible anti-alcohol measure from this viewpoint. It would be expedient to supplement educational and mass-cultural measure with administrative measures aimed at restricting the sale of spirits.

The introduction of anti-alcohol instruction in schools and cultivation of the need for sobriety--this is already a direct contribution to the maximum program. Realization of this program would also be helped if the list of professions and posts, including leading ones, which can be filled only by firm teetotalers were to be expanded from time to time. A doctor, receiving his diploma, swears the Hippocratic oath. So why do representatives of various professions which are particularly important to society fail to swear an oath to adhere to a sober way of life? A teacher who abuses alcohol is an unnatural phenomenon. The same can be said of a party worker, a plant director, or a member of the militia. This list can easily be continued. Teetotalers--other things being equal--must enjoy the chief right to occupy any given position.

The present practice of an anti-alcohol education for the younger generation merits serious reproach. There are no anti-alcohol educational programs in academic institutions. In point of fact, general compulsory anti-alcohol education among parents has died out. But it is the family that plays the main role in cultivating a need for sobriety in children and their organic rejection of spirits. It is precisely in domestic conditions that a child most frequently of all becomes acquainted with his first glass and acquires a predisposition to spirits. If parents cultivate an aversion to the "green serpent," it will be easier for the growing individual to withstand outside influences and the influence of his older drinking "mentors." Far from everyone is aware of the danger concealed in every glass of spirits. Many are convinced of its medicinal properties and its wholesomeness. And how many people believe that family conviviality is inconceivable without spirits, not noticing how spirits gradually become the master of the house! They only come to their senses when it is already too late: a son or daughter has developed a taste for alcohol.

It has long been necessary to publish an intelligent anti-alcohol book for parents which would acquaint both adults and children with the history of drunkenness and alcoholism, and with the reasons for their tenacity. Popular knowledge of the mechanism of the pernicious effect of spirits on the developing organism is essential, as is advice on how to conduct anti-alcohol education within the family, the basis of this education being the sober lifestyle of the father and mother. Many irate articles appear in the press which are directed against drunkards who have forgotten their parental duties, but hardly a word on families, where sobriety is of paramount importance.

At one time books on the damage caused by drunkenness were printed which were addressed to students: "A Course of Study on Sobriety in the People's School. Trial Program," "Textbook on Sobriety," and "Path to Sobriety. Reference Book for Families and Schools." A special "Sobriety Leaflet for Students" was regularly published. It was believed that the earlier a child learned of the dangers of spirits, the better. Today the Detskaya literature publishing house has virtually withdrawn from participation in this important matter, and the makers of films for children also steer clear of this subject. It is incomparably easier to cultivate hostility towards spirits than to return a drinker to the path of sobriety. A child receives its first impressions of good and evil from its first books, which means that the earlier it becomes aware of the shameful nature of drinking, the greater chance it will have of growing up a teetotaler.

At one time a special course in alcohol studies was taught in higher education institutes. It was considered self-evident that a highly qualified specialist must be an active propagandist and upholder of sobriety. There was reason in this! Who, if not the future commander of industrial or agricultural production, is to walk in the front ranks of fighters against the demon drink--the chief disorganizer of our life? Even during their student days young people must be equipped with the necessary minimum of knowledge concerning the methods of organizing this kind of work.

The demands made on leaders grow from year to year. Success comes to he who, in addition to purely practical qualities, also has a moral right to be the leader of a collective. A drinking leader--be he a Solomon--is an anomaly; sooner or later such a "leader" becomes the disorganizer of the collective's production and social life and is capable of causing both the collective and society as a whole great material and moral damage. It is precisely for this reason that party organizations are required to be stricter in calling to account those party members, and primarily leading workers, who abuse alcohol, fail to suppress cases of drunkenness, and avoid direct participation in the struggle against this evil. Party, soviet, economic, trade union and Komsomol leaders who have a predilection for spirits and who permit the organization of drinking bouts, states the CPSU Central Committee resolution, must be freed from their posts, and communists must be called strictly to account--even dismissed from CPSU ranks.

A number of party documents note that the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism is not only a matter for the state and administrative organs (the courts, the public prosecutor and the militia), but also for the entire public and every Soviet citizen, because negative phenomena can be eliminated only

through joint effort. Meanwhile, the activities of the now numerous sobriety societies and clubs (which represent mass organs of public self-initiative and are capable of harmoniously supplementing the activities of commissions for the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism) are basically uncoordinated, uncontrolled and ungeneralized. It seems that the situation is going to change radically. Attaching particular significance to developing the mass nature of the anti-alcohol movement and to spreading it at enterprises, and in organizations, institutions and labor collectives, the CPSU Central Committee has deemed it expedient to set up an all-union voluntary society for the struggle for sobriety and to publish the society's press organ.

Forming high moral qualities and a progressive world outlook in the Soviet individual presupposes determined, consistent struggle against vestiges of the past in his awareness and against antisocial acts. In the conditions of developed socialism, when the ideological-moral potential of society in many ways determines our successes in every sector of communist construction, one of the most important tasks of the party, soviet and economic organs, and of trade union, Komsomol and other social organizations is that of educating Soviet people in a spirit of communist morality, strict observance of norms of socialist society and irreconcilability toward bourgeois ideology and morals, and toward manifestations of antisocial behavior and morals alien to our society.

The party's attitude toward such a vestige as drunkenness has always been simple. Drunkenness cannot be justified by references to imaginary traditions or to the "special" quality of the national character. Great patriotism, selflessness in work, simplicity and modesty and intolerance of anything that prevents all of us from working normally and spending our leisure well are characteristic of Soviet people. Drunkenness is harmful to people both at work and at home. It is no accident that Lenin placed the struggle against drunkenness on an equal level with the struggle against bureaucratism, red tape and bad management.

Drunkenness is a cunning, wily enemy. It cannot be brought under control by a dashing, cavalry-style surprise attack--many years of consistent and carefully coordinated work in many directions is what is needed. As it was noted at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, not only constant propagandist efforts are required to eliminate the negative phenomena of our reality, among which drunkenness occupies prime place, but also measures of an economic, organizational and legal nature. They are clearly indicated the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Measures to Overcome Drunkenness and Alcoholism," in the corresponding resolution adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers, and in the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium "On Intensifying the Struggle Against Drunkenness." The guarantee of success is an uncompromising attitude to the aforementioned evil primarily on the part of leaders of labor collectives, constant attention to this problem by party and other social organizations and by all Soviet people, and efficient work by the organs of people's control, law and order and justice.

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## ENHANCING THE LEVEL OF AUDITING WORK

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 85 (signed to press 23 May 85) pp 121-124

[Review by Prof V. Mantsev and Docent P. Neshcheretniy of the book "Nekotoryye Voprosy Revizionnoy Raboty v Partiynykh Organizatsiyakh" [Some Problems of Auditing Work in Party Organizations] by G. F. Sizov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1984, 192 pp.]

[Text] Guided by the eternally living Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the CPSU is confidently leading the Soviet people toward the further advancement of all aspects of life in socialist society. "The party," the March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized, "is precisely the force which can take into the consideration the interests of all classes and social groups and all nations and nationalities in the country, unite them and harness the energy of the people for the common cause of building communism."

The solution of all these problems, i.e., the party's implementation of its historical mission, as pointed out by V. I. Lenin, of "leading the entire people to socialism, guiding and organizing the new system and being a teacher, guide and leader of all working and exploited people in organizing their social life...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch. [Complete Collected Works], vol 33, p 26), imposes upon it the greatest possible responsibility and determines the need for constant ideological and organizational strengthening and perfecting of its workstyle and intensifying its exigency and responsibility of cadres and all party members for their assignments and the strict observance of party discipline, which is the most important prerequisite in strengthening state, labor and performance discipline.

The various aspects of the activities of the party and its organizations have been extensively discussed in many books, pamphlets and other publications which have come out in recent years, during which, implementing the resolutions of the 26th Congress and the November 1982 and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, the party organizations significantly energized and enriched the content, forms and methods of their work in the struggle for the implementation of the party line. In this connection, the book by G. F. Sizov, chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, is of unquestionable interest. For the first time, the activities of control party organs such as the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and the auditing commissions of republic,

kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon party organizations are the topic of a comprehensive study.

The author analyzes the process of the birth, establishment and advancement of auditing commissions, the expansion and intensification of their functions and their ways and means of work from the positions of Marxist-Leninist methodology; he brings to light the organic link and interdependence of this process with the development of the party itself and the increased difficulty of its problems at specific historical periods. The book described the role of auditing as one of the effective means of implementing Lenin's instructions on the need for a careful party attitude toward funds and the steady strengthening of the material and financial party base for the implementation of its entire organizational and political education work.

Under contemporary conditions, when some party committees occasionally forget this and allow, as the author points out, excesses in building administrative buildings, furnishing official premises, purchasing technical facilities and using transport vehicles, reminders of Lenin's attitude toward party budget funds are very useful.

The procedure governing the establishment, tasks and functions of the CPSU Central Committee Central Auditing Commission and the auditing commissions of local party organizations are determined by the party's bylaws and regulations on such commissions, which were adopted in 1922. The reader will find it interesting to study the content of the regulations cited and extensively discussed by the author, as well as the amendments and supplements made with the approval of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on the suggestion of the Central Auditing Commission.

According to CPSU bylaws, the Central Auditing Commission, which functions during the term of the party Central Committee, is elected at the party congress. It is the party congress which hears out and ratifies its report. The auditing commissions of local party organizations are elected at corresponding congresses and conferences to which they are accountable. The CPSU Central Auditing Commission audits the speed and accuracy of the work of central party organs and the CPSU Central Committee funds and enterprises.

The range of obligations of the CPSU Central Committee Auditing Commission, stipulated in the party bylaws, and the functions of the local auditing commissions, the author notes, are steadily intensifying and expanding in terms of content and scale. This is due to the fact that as party membership grows and as CPSU publishing activities increase, so do its material and financial resources and, consequently, the complexity and volume of auditing. Furthermore, which is particularly important, the qualitatively new approach to the organization and content of auditing work by party organizations require the systematic implementation of the party course of strict observance of law and order, strengthening and discipline and struggle, as M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary emphasized, "against any manifestations of ostentatiousness and verbiage, boasting and irresponsibility, or anything which conflicts with the socialist norms of life."

The readers and the entire party aktiv would find it useful to know that in 1983 the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee Auditing Commission submitted to the CPSU Central Committee suggestions aimed at energizing auditing, in order to ensure further improvements in the work of auditing commissions. In particular, they call for approving the new regulations on the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and the auditing commissions of local and party organizations. We know that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has set up a commission to formulate the new regulation on the CPSU Central Committee Auditing Commission and to submit it for ratification at the 27th Party Congress.

As the author points out, already now, with a view to strengthening the democratic principles in the activities of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and to strengthen its ties with individual local areas, it has been deemed expedient to set up a collective body--the CPSU Central Auditing Commission Bureau--consisting of five members. In order to intensify auditing activities in the center and help the auditing commissions of local party organizations, the staff of the Central Auditing Commission has been somewhat enlarged. The implementation of such measures is yielding positive results.

One of the basic tasks in auditing is supervising the allocation and utilization of party funds, the purpose of which is to provide material support to party organizational, political and ideological work conducted by the CPSU Central Committee and the local party organizations and their establishments. The book deals extensively with the study and comprehensive consideration of this problem. It is based on Lenin's concept, codified in the resolution of the 3rd RSDWP Congress, "On the Party's Material Support," which indicates that the party must subsist "exclusively on the basis of its own funds," it convincingly proves that said congress instruction is being strictly observed.

"The realm of activities related to the party budget," writes the author, includes not only the extensive property managed by the CPSU Central Committee but also the needs of oblast and kray party committees and central committees of communist parties of union republics, concern for the facilities operated by local party organs--okrughkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, including problems of capital construction, equipment and maintenance of service premises, providing transportation, communications and office equipment for party bodies and providing to the personnel of the party apparatus housing, medical treatment and other services" (p 33). It is indicative that for a number of years the party budget has shown a surplus of revenue over expenditures. This has been made possible thanks to the increased amount of party funds and the result of an economical approach to managing party property and systematically supervising the use of the party budget.

In describing the party budget structure, the author notes that its revenue comes from three sources: membership dues, withholdings from the profits of materials published by party bodies, and other income (for party document forms issued in the acceptance of new CPSU members or candidate members, the leasing of facilities, selling replaced property, etc.).

For a long time, membership dues were the main item in the party budget's revenue. They accounted for two-thirds, and income from publishing for no more than one-third. In recent years, however, a trend has been noted of equalization between the share of revenue from membership dues and from publishing activities. This is based on the development of publishing and printing by party bodies. Today the latter account for up to 40 percent of the party's budget.

Based on such data, the broad party aktiv is offered the possibility of using better arguments in its counterpropaganda work against a variety of bourgeois propaganda misrepresentations on this account, the purpose of which is to distort the actual situation and to depict our party as one of the consumers of state budget funds. Such data, however, are of more than merely propaganda or ideological-educational significance. They will also be used in strengthening party discipline and promoting the organizational strengthening of the party.

The requirement of material support of the party was considered by Lenin, alongside other basic stipulations, one of the most important prerequisites for party membership. The prompt payment of regulation dues is the obligation of every party member and candidate member. "It contributes, the author emphasizes, to the education of the party members and enhances their organization and discipline. That is why accurate payment of membership dues is not only of major practical but of political significance as well" (pp 39-40).

The great attention which the author pays to the control exercised by auditing commissions and party bodies over the proper organization of this important sector in organizational party work is entirely expedient and justified. The readers, party workers in particular and, above all, young secretaries of primary party organizations, and CPSU raykom and gorkom instructors will find in these sections of the book many useful answers and valuable practical recommendations on a great variety of problems of organizing the payment of membership dues and related bookkeeping and accountability.

One of the main tasks of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and the auditing commissions of local party organizations is control over the extent to which party budget funds are used properly and expediently in accordance with types of expenditures approved by the superior party bodies: for the maintenance of party bodies (salaries, office and communications expenditures, etc.); party propaganda (upkeep of political education houses and offices, Marxism-Leninism universities, seminars, lectures and mass political work); training and retraining of party and soviet cadres; management expenditures; and construction and repair of party buildings.

"The CPSU Central Committee," G. F. Sizov writes, "pays great attention to the economical utilization of the material, financial and labor resources in the country's national economy. This fully applies to the financial and economic activities of party bodies, enterprises and Central Committee establishments, for they have substantial material and monetary resources at their disposal (pp 45-46). That is why perfecting auditing in party organizations on all levels becomes exceptionally important under contemporary conditions. It is

necessary, the author asserts, that audits and investigations of the correctness with which funds and material resources are used be completed within stipulated deadlines, ably and knowledgeably.

In addition to said information, the book also contains rich data on how to organize controls and audits of financial and budget work and economic activities of enterprises of the party Central Committee and the local party bodies. The author considers specific features of various types of audits, describes their "technology" and submits practical recommendations aimed at the elimination of individual omissions. All such materials will, unquestionably, be of great value and support for the more than 50,000 strong aktiv of members of auditing commissions and other party workers, as well as all party members.

The author provides an extensive study and description of the activities of the Central Auditing Commission in auditing, the speed and accuracy with which affairs are handled by the central party authorities and, in particular, investigative work with the letters, complaints and petitions of the working people and organizing the reception of visitors. The CPSU has always considered strengthening, broadening and intensifying ties with the masses a prime assignment and a most important source of its strength, as it was taught by Lenin and, today, by the CPSU Central Committee.

Work with letters and petitions by the working people, with which they address themselves to party and state bodies and newspapers, journals, radio and television, is of great importance in the implementation of said task. In accordance with the Leninist tradition, the CPSU and the Central Committee demand steady improvements in this work and the elimination of all manifestations of bureaucracy and red tape. The CPSU Central Auditing Commission and the auditing commissions of local party organizations are substantially contributing to bringing proper order in this matter. Thanks to intensified control on the part of the CPSU Central Committee and the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, of late petitions and complaints are being dealt with on the spot by visiting senior personnel, considerably more frequently. The various Central Committee departments directly supervise the results of the work related to about one-half of received mail, while supervision over the balance is provided by the organizations assigned to act upon them.

At the same time, as the author emphasizes, efficient organization of the work with letters and petitions has still not become the standard for all organizations. "The possibilities of the local party committees to organize in an exemplary fashion the major and important project of considering the written and verbal addresses of the working people are not used to their fullest extent always and everywhere. Unfortunately, we also come across cases of formal and scornful attitude toward the legitimate rights of citizens, unjustified rejections and delayed answer to letters, which is justifiably censored by the people" (p 85). Practical experience indicates that far fewer or even no letters and complaints are received by superior party bodies from collectives in which concern for the working people is shown not in words but in actions and where the norms of socialist community life are observed.

As we may see, the author does not draw the readers away from sensitive problems but guides them to the realization that here as well the party committees and auditing commissions on all levels face responsible and urgent problems, the successful solution of which unquestionably further strengthen the ties between the party and the people and the party's organizational consolidation.

The profound scientific study of the experience in auditing work gained by the party organizations, combined with specific recommendations, is the main feature of this work and its scientific and cognitive value and practical significance to the broad party aktiv and all party members, as well as all Soviet people interested in problems of communist party life and activities.

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## MAN AND LAND

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 85 (signed to press 23 May 85) pp 124-125

[Review by VASKhNIL Academician A. Kashtanov of the book "Velikaya Step" [The Great Steppe] by O. Dronov, A. Murzin and A. Fedorov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1984, 352 pp].

[Text] This book not only describes the great exploit of the Soviet people in developing the virgin and fallow lands, when the natural resources of the eastern part of the country were put on the service of socialist society and a huge area was transformed economically and socially. It is also a discussion on the virgin land today and its role, possibilities and fate of its people.

In raising the question of "man and land," the authors clearly indicate that it has become twice as topical under the extreme difficult climatic conditions of the steppe areas, where one must literally fight for each drop of moisture in the soil and kilogram of grain or any other agricultural produce. The steppe and steppe agriculture are particularly intolerant of a superficial attitude. They require the predominance of loyalty to the work, deep knowledge and ability to work creatively, professionally, patiently and, above all, with a heart. This means bringing strict order and ensuring the highly efficient utilization of each hectare of plowland, meadow and pasture and upgrading soil fertility through reclamation, chemization and other agrotechnical means.

The accelerated socioeconomic development of the country presumes the organization of efficient agricultural production, farming above all. What should it be over the next 5-10 years and subsequently, and what should science and practical experience accomplish to this effect? By highly developed farming we mean intensive, highly productive, stable and economically efficient output which can ensure a gradual increase in procurements of high-quality goods year in and year out, with the most efficient utilization of resources, while, at the same time, enabling us to increase the reproduction of soil fertility. Such farming presumes a contemporary level of scientific and technical knowledge by managers, specialists and mechanizers--by anyone related to the land. More efficient methods and solutions are required as well as persistent and consistent work for their implementation.

The authors show profound and thorough knowledge of their subject, a great deal of which they have experienced themselves. We read with interest the description of the history of virgin land farming. However, the story of the age-old use of the steppe area, the difficulties involved in developing it, the difficulties experienced by grain and cattle growers as a result of the unskillful and thoughtless use of the fertile soil stratum are the background against which today's life in the virgin lands and their current problems show up even more clearly.

As we know, the virgin lands underwent three development periods. The first was when the virgin steppe, untouched by the plow, was plowed up within an extremely short time and over tremendous areas. The second was the erosion of the virgin lands, when after a period ranging between 6 and 8 years of use, they experienced the destructive force of wind erosion. The third was the period of developing an essentially new type of soil protection farming which converted the virgin lands from an area of risk farming to one of quite stable and substantial grain crops and harvests.

It is these three periods that are described in the book. With the help of extensive factual data and a description of clashes, occasionally dramatic (not to say tragic), not only in the life of the virgin lands themselves but the fate of the people developing them, the authors present the romantic heroism of the virgin land pioneers and their courage and dedication. They describe the way the wisdom of the grain growers, scientific daring and persistence made it possible to substantiate and apply a soil protection farming system and use essentially new soil cultivation tools; finally, they depict the tremendous efforts invested in the development of the other "virgin lands"--animal husbandry.

As we know, the path of the development of a soil protecting system and, particularly, its application, was not smooth. It made its way in the course of a persistent struggle, removing mounds of obsolete concepts, and fighting those who were unable to go beyond obsolete habits and who clung to unjustified means and methods, sometimes sincerely believing them to be the true ones. This is what makes particularly interesting the chapters which describe the development of the virgin land agronomical outlook, creative approach to steppe farming and tremendous importance of the soil protection system ("The Power of Protected Land" and "A Continent of Grain"). The people must not only preserve soil fertility but multiply it from one generation to another.

"Naturally," the authors point out, "the new agrotechnology, machines and reliable crop rotation are of great importance. No grain can be grown without them. However, perhaps the most important thing is the appearance of a farmer of a new type, shaped by the virgin land" (p 267). Indeed, whereas by the turn of the century crops were the result essentially of natural soil fertility, today the actual achievements of scientific and technical progress--chemization, reclamation, comprehensive mechanization, intensive industrial technologies and new high-yielding strains and hybrids of farm crops--play a decisive role in their outcome. The role of the human factor in farming has increased exceptionally as well. A number of farms may be named,

whose managers and specialists, making use of the achievements of science and technology, are obtaining today high stable yields regardless of whether conditions. The authors list an entire gallery of outstanding virgin land pioneers, who embody the features of the contemporary grain grower, of the new type farmer.

Young mechanizers remain a major and urgent problem in the virgin land. Equipment is changing rapidly and machines are becoming more productive. Today a single person can harvest 320 to 350 hectares per season, 100 more than he could in the past with the SK-4 combine. However, this requires real skill. The essay on training modern cadres and retaining them in the countryside, entitled "Learn How To Teach Your Sons," analyzes the problems with the help of specific examples and on the basis of practical experience. The authors emphasize that the driver mechanizer is a thing of the past; he is replaced by the mechanizer-technologist who has mastered the new equipment and industrial technology to perfection. This means that the training of young cadres at agricultural vocational-technical schools and at the farms themselves must be reorganized so that they may be consistent with the current level of scientific and technical progress in the countryside. "To us, their seniors, the main thing in life is not to fall behind in teaching our sons. This applies to both skill and a firm life stance," one of the book's characters says (p 345).

Another important thought persistently runs through the book: the successful development of large areas of previously undeveloped land and the transformation of the underdeveloped virgin land kray into an area with a powerful economy became possible thanks to the comprehensive approach to the solution of organizational, economic and social problems. Under circumstances in which the need for a comprehensive solution of new complex problems related to the further development of our country's economy becomes necessary, the virgin lands experience becomes very important.

Hero of Socialist Labor Mikhail Dovzhik was once asked what should be done to activate the reserves of the virgin lands. He answered: "Work the fields with cosmic accuracy." He was referring to further perfecting the soil protection farming system on the basis of intensification and precise observance of its requirements and methods. It is only under such circumstances that a high contemporary farming standard, the stable increase in the production of grain and other crops and successful development of animal husbandry can be ensured.

"Compare a book to travel," the authors write. "We believe that this book is more than anything else a description of a trip to the virgin lands. It is a useful socioeconomic study of interest to party, soviet and economic workers, scientists, specialists and the general reader."

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## SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 85 (signed to press 23 May 85) pp 126-128

[Text] "Zakonomernosti Razvitiya Marksistsko-Leninskoy Partii" [Laws Governing the Development of the Marxist-Leninist Party]. Editorial collegium: Kuzmin, N. F. (responsible editor), Lukyanenko, V. I. (deputy responsible editor), Derbinov, Yu. V., Minayev, L. M. and Sulemov, V. A. Mysl, Moscow, 1983, 319 pp. Reviewed by Candidate of Economic Sciences Docent V. Krupitsa and Candidate of Historical Sciences Docent N. Snitchuk.

Guided by the Marxist-Leninist stipulations of the leading role of the communist party in the revolutionary reorganization of society, the authors study some laws inherent in the party, in accordance with the latest achievements of party history science, and bring to light the leading trends of its development under contemporary conditions.

The monograph promotes clearly and consistently the thought that the very appearance of a Marxist-Leninist party is an objective need of social development. Reaching a certain stage, the labor movement can no longer do without a party and becomes the base for its creation. The party, which appears as a result of the development of the revolutionary movement, brings to it consciousness and raises it to a qualitatively new stage. "Without such organization," V. I. Lenin pointed out, "the proletariat cannot rise to the level of a conscious class struggle. Without such an organization, the labor movement is doomed to helplessness..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 4, p 375).

One of the most important laws of party development is its increased role as socialist society advances toward communism. Through its tireless improvement of all aspects of internal life, enhancement of the qualitative composition of its ranks, form of organization and improved efficiency of its ways and means of work, the CPSU proved its ability and right to be the leading force in building socialism and communism. The further growth of this role is determined both by the degree of maturity reached by society as well as the ideological and organizational growth and strengthening of the party itself,

the enhanced level of its political leadership and its strengthened ties with the masses.

Using contemporary CPSU documents and the study of the practical activities of party committees and organizations, the authors analyze the real process of the increased role of the party in guiding all aspects of life in socialist society. On the basis of a specific study, the authors describe the essence of the party's leadership and the components of its content and mechanism of organization.

The totality of socioeconomic and ideological-political relations which develop in the society influence the communist party. However, it also has its internal development sources which, as the monograph emphasizes, are not isolated from the forces which stimulate social progresses. At the same time, these sources have their own significance and a tremendous influence on party life and activities.

The authors include in the laws governing party development loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and struggle for the purity of revolutionary theory and its creative development. The entire content of the chapters on this topic reveal the permanent value and vitality of the Leninist concept that "only a party guided by a progressive theory can be a progressive fighter" (op. cit., vol 6, p 25).

The development of the CPSU is considered a historically legitimate process of profound qualitative changes in the life of socialist society, as a result of which, while remaining a party of the working class and supreme form of its organization, it becomes the vanguard of the entire people. This confirms the existence of the highest possible social unity and the adoption of a strictly class-oriented CPSU ideology and policy, proletarian in content and nature, and its adoption of the objectives and the communist ideals of all classes and strata in Soviet society.

The broader the front of social forces led by the party becomes, the more important it becomes for the party to protect the integrity and purity of its class foundation as a guarantee of firmness and consistency in building the new society. This law remains in effect under the conditions of developed socialism as well. With the help of specific factual data, the monograph describes the comprehensive work done by the CPSU to regulate the structure and growth of its ranks.

The authors cite the historical experience of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties as proof that the party's strength lies in its unbreakable ties with the working class and the people's masses. These ties are considered by them as one of the most important laws of the development of a Marxist-Leninist party.

The authors discuss extensively the legitimate nature of the unbreakable unity between two principles--democracy and centralism--in the party's organizational structure and in all intraparty life. They concentrate extensively on the enhanced role and significance of the primary party organizations as the foundations of the party and as the political nucleus of

labor collectives. The strict observance of the principle of democratic centralism ensures the enhanced activeness, growth of party members' initiative and collective formulation and adoption of resolutions. They contribute to the development of criticism and self-criticism and to strengthening discipline and organization in party ranks. The monograph provides a substantiated criticism of the anticommunist distortions of the principle of democratic centralism, which has international significance.

A separate chapter deals with proletarian internationalism as a law in the development of a Marxist-Leninist party. The authors justifiably consider the steady increase in the role of the international unity of progressive forces in the struggle for peace, national and social liberation and systematic strengthening of cooperation among fraternal communist and worker parties one of the leading trends in contemporary global developments.

"Kuba v Mirovoy Politike" [Cuba in World Politics] by E. A. Grinevich and B. I. Gvozdarev. Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1984, 576 pp. Reviewed by Candidate of Historical Sciences M. Torshin.

The noteworthy role which the Republic of Cuba plays in contemporary world politics and its high international prestige are the result of the historical accomplishments of the Cuban revolution. This semicolonial country, totally dependent on U.S. imperialism, became the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere, pursuing an independent foreign policy course aimed at ensuring universal peace and creating the most favorable international climate possible for the constructive toil of the Cuban people. In describing the situation of dependency and oppression which had developed in prerevolutionary Cuba, Fidel Castro said that "our foreign policy was made in Washington. On the maps of the world our country was colored the same as the United States. Most Americans would have been amazed had they been told that officially we were not a U.S. possession. American ambassadors, who acted actually as proconsuls in our country, shamelessly bossed our rulers around."

Today Cuba is a respected member of the international community. It maintains diplomatic relations with 120 countries (no more than 53 before the revolution). Its voice is authoritatively heard in the United Nations and at other international fora. The U.S. efforts to strangle Cuba in a ring of economic blockade failed. As member of the socialist community, through its approach to resolving the problem of building a new society it is making a substantial contribution to the common treasury of practical experience of real socialism. Cuba's role in the struggle for freedom and independence and the right of all nations to independent development has been universally acknowledged. Its truly internationalist policy of solidarity and help to countries taking the path of national and social liberation is gaining increasing prestige.

This comprehensive study by Soviet experts on Latin America E. A. Grinevich and B. I. Gvozdarev is a comprehensive review of the foreign policy of socialist Cuba and the specific activities of Cuban diplomacy in the international arena. The book's preface is by Leonel Soto, Cuban ambassador

to the USSR and member of the CP of Cuba Central Committee Secretariat, who gives a high rating to the work of the Soviet authors.

The book pays particular attention to the study and description of Soviet-Cuban cooperation and the comprehensive development of friendly relations between the Soviet and Cuban peoples. In speaking of these relations, Fidel Castro said impressively and with feeling that they will "become part of history as a model of truly fraternal, truly internationalist, truly revolutionary relations." As the authors emphasize, today the characteristic features of relations between the USSR and the Republic of Cuba are "political solidarity in the international arena and advancement of all forms of Soviet-Cuban cooperation, based on the principles of socialist internationalism and conducted in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding" (p 97).

The authors make a thorough study of the fraternal reciprocal relations between Cuba and the other members of the socialist community and describe in detail its participation in CEMA. A separate chapter describes Cuba's activities in the nonaligned movement, where it consistently promotes the unity of its ranks on an anti-imperialist basis. "Cuba's activities in uniting the ranks of the movement," the authors note, "its tireless struggle against the intrigues of Washington and its agents, its responsible mission as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement between 1979 and 1983, its constructive and consistent position at the 7th Conference in New Delhi and its solidarity with countries subjected to aggression and exploitation have earned the Republic of Cuba the respect of all peaceloving forces and contributed to strengthening the positive role of the movement in world politics" (p 346).

Relations with Latin American and Caribbean countries are a major trend in socialist Cuba's foreign policy. Cuba actively supports the actions of the governments of a number of Latin American countries aimed at protecting their national interests from Washington's encroachments. It speaks out in favor of the peaceful political settlement of the explosive situation in Central America, which has developed as a result of U.S. aggressive policy. It is indicative that already today 15 Latin American countries maintain diplomatic relations with Cuba. The United States, which only recently was throwing its weight around in the Organization of American States, is no longer able to push anti-Cuban resolutions through at its meetings. The parts discussing Cuba's views on the gravest problems affecting the peoples of the liberated countries are of particular interest. Cuba systematically opposes neocolonialism, racism, apartheid and Zionism. It supports the reorganization of international economic relations on an equal democratic basis.

The authors analyze the principles which govern Cuba's relations with the developed capitalist countries. They point out, in particular, that the strengthened foreign policy positions of the Republic of Cuba "contribute" to the intensification of such relations and "strengthen its international reputation and defeat the plans of aggressive imperialist circles, aimed at Cuba's isolation" (p 434).

Cuba is pursuing its peaceful policy in resolving problems of socialist development under the difficult circumstances of imperialist blockade and constant slanderous anti-Cuban campaigns mounted by Washington, campaigns

which have assumed a particularly unrestrained character under the Reagan administration.

In the face of the imperialist sallies, the Cuban people rally their ranks and present an outstanding model of revolutionary unity, high national and international awareness, labor thrust and inflexible firmness in defending the gains of the revolution. Working Cuba is preparing for a worthy welcome of its 3rd Communist Party Congress, which is planned for the end of this year. The irreversible nature of the process of strengthening the positions of the republic of Cuba is yet another confirmation of the unbreakable and firm nature of the country's socialist system. As a whole, the authors have been able to describe, against a broad historical background, the role and place of the Isle of Freedom in the contemporary world. The book is of interest not only to specialists in international affairs but also to lecturers and propagandists and to anyone interested in problems of international relations.

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